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AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF THE

# MURDER OF DR. WHITMAN

AND OTHER MISSIONARIES,

By the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847,

AND THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THAT HORRIBLE  
CATASTROPHE.

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BY THE VERY REV. J. B. A. BROUILLET.

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*"Magna est veritas, et praevalabit."*

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Second Edition.

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PORTLAND, OREGON:  
S. J. McCORMICK, PUBLISHER.  
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issued in 1853, has become exhausted; some of the principal witnesses of the Indian massacre at Dr. Whitman's station have left the country; many of them are dead—a new community has sprung up in the land. Still there are found those amongst us whose prejudices, even at this remote day, are so strong as not to yield before the penetrating rays of truth; whose minds will not be satisfied with the unchangeable and irrefutable evidence of disinterested witnesses, and whose spleen against the Catholic church, and all that pertains to her creed, her pastors and her people, finds vent in the shape of “resolutions” without reason,\* paragraphs without point, and anonymous newspaper articles without responsibility.

It being not only impracticable, but distasteful, to the author to undertake the task of replying to the open or covert attacks thus made upon questions of veracity long since settled, he has included in the present work all the evidence relative to the massacre of Dr. Whitman and others, by the Cayuse Indians, published in his former pamphlet, together with an appendix, wherein will be found additional irrefutable evidence which has since emanated from sources beyond the suspicion of partiality, some of which we deem worthy of special reference.

The Rev. Gustavus Hines, D. D., (extracts from whose *History of Oregon* are given in the appendix) is an influential minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his evidence alone, aside from the testimony adduced from numerous other equally reliable sources, should bring conviction to the minds of all impartial men, who desire to learn the truth of history. Dr. Hines' work was first issued in 1850, three years after the lamenta-

\*See resolutions adopted by Congregational Association of Oregon, July, 1869.

ble tragedy at Dr. Whitman's mission; the work has passed through several editions, finding its way into every State in the Union, and the author, encouraged by the success which was justly accorded his first effort, has issued a recent work upon the Institutions of Oregon, yet the truths he published in 1850 have stood unchallenged for nearly twenty years, showing the remote causes which led to the massacre of so many innocent people, and clearly exonerating the Catholic missionaries from the foul charge sought to be fastened on them.

The letter of Sir James Douglas, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Co., (who was residing at Vancouver at the time of the massacre at Dr. Whitman's station, and who upon learning the sad news immediately dispatched a large force of their employés, under charge of Peter Skeen Ogden, to the scene, for the purpose of preventing further atrocities) will also be found in the appendix. The opinions so strongly expressed in this letter were based upon information received from Mr. Ogden, Mr. McBean, clerk at Fort Walla Walla, (the nearest post to the scene of the murder) and other reliable gentlemen attached to the Hudson's Bay Company. It is therefore strictly impartial, detailing the circumstances which led to the sad catastrophe in plain, unvarnished language, and expressing the united opinions of men well qualified by education and years of experience, to judge the Indian character.

The evidence adduced by these and other disinterested witnesses, together with the facts reiterated from the former publication, cannot fail of bringing conviction to every candid mind, that the murder of Dr. Whitman and his associates was premeditated, matured and determined upon by the evil-disposed Indians among the Cayuse nation, long before the arrival of the Bishop of

Walla Walla and his missionaries. In proof of this assertion, we need only recur to the files of the "Oregon, American and Evangelical Unionist," a periodical issued during 1848, at Tualatin Plains, in Washington county, and edited by Rev. J. S. Griffin. In the fourth number of this periodical we find over the signature of Rev H. H. Spalding an article from which we learn the fact that a Nez Perces Indian inquired of him prior to the massacre if Dr. Whitman was not killed; but little attention was paid to the question; Mr. Spalding, however, mentioned the matter to Dr. Whitman, Mr. Kimble, and others at the station. "*We considered it a reiteration of what had been said for a long time—a ball can penetrate your body.* \* \* \* \* The Doctor in one of his visits had discovered *Tamahas* (called the murderer from having killed several Indians) who had just before lost his wife, and who was the person that afterwards, with two blows upon the head laid our lamented brother bleeding senseless, but not lifeless, upon the floor) in rather a suspicious attitude. From that time the Doctor had been cautious. But there were no inflammatory meetings among the chiefs, as there had often been. For instance, when they returned from California, two years ago, after the death of the Walla Walla Chief, several meetings were held to consider whether Dr. Whitman, myself or some other American teacher should be killed as a set off for Elijah."

It must also be borne in mind that on several occasions previous to the massacre, the Cayuse Indians had made assaults upon and threats against the missionary station at Wailatpu, and the ferocity of the character of the Cayuses is clearly established by Sir James Douglas, who knew them well, and who declares them to be "the most treacherous and intractible of all the Indian

tribes in this country, and who had on many former occasions alarmed the inmates of the mission by their tumultuous proceedings and ferocious threats."

In order to show more fully the precarious position occupied by the white settlers in Oregon, previous to the year of the Whitman massacre, we insert an extract from the message of Governor George Abernethy to the Legislative Assembly of Oregon Territory, convened at Oregon City, December, 1847 :

"Our relations with the Indians becomes every year more embarrassing. They see the white man occupying their land, rapidly filling up the country, and they put in a claim for pay. They have been told that a chief would come out from the United States, and treat with them for their lands; they have been told this so often that they begin to doubt the truth of it; at all events, they say, 'he will not come until we are all dead, and then what good will blankets do us? We want something now.' This leads to trouble between the settler and the Indians about him. Some plan should be devised by which a fund can be raised, and presents made to the Indians of sufficient value to keep them quiet until an agent arrives from the United States."

Even as early as 1835, some of the missionaries settled in Oregon and engaged in civilizing the Indians, were in danger of being murdered in consequence of the death of one of the Indian children attending school. The circumstances were as follows: "A boy whose name was Ken-o-teesh, belonging to the Si-le-lah tribe, was received into the mission in April, and died on the 19th of the following August. A few days after, his brother determined to seek revenge for the death of Ken-o-teesh, by taking the life of Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard."\*

\*Hines' History of Oregon, p. 14.



This fact illustrates the Indian creed of "life for life," and proves that it required no "priestly" influences to urge them on to murder, inasmuch as no Catholic missionaries had then arrived in the Willamette valley.

Again, in 1836, We-lap-tu-lekt, an Indian of the Cayuse tribe† went to the Willamette mission, where he placed his two sons, desiring to have them educated. He had traveled with the missionaries, and desired them to settle in his country, but they not acceding to his request, he determined upon bringing his family from east of the Cascades to the Willamette mission. This he accomplished early in September, 1836. Some of his children attended school, and appeared to be making rapid progress; but in February, 1837, his family began to suffer with disease. Two of his children died in quick succession, and a third was fast sinking with a burning fever. We-lap-tu-lekt was frightened, and supposed that all his children would die, if he did not leave the place. He accordingly fled in a canoe, but just as he landed at Fort Vancouver, on his way to his mountain home, another of his children died. "These repeated deaths in one family," remarks Rev. Mr. Hines, from whose history of Oregon we glean these facts, "and the fact that most of the mission children were sick, and some had died but recently, began to create a *prejudice* in the minds of the Indians against having their children remain with the mission, and after this it was not so easy to procure and retain them."

So that as early as 1836, eleven years before the massacre, a *prejudice* was created in the minds of the Indians against the American missionaries, and that, too, among the very tribe that afterwards committed the brutal murders. Of course, the fact of children dying

†The same tribe that murdered Dr. Whitman.



natural deaths could have no weight in forming opinions in the minds of intelligent, civilized men, but, with poor untutored savages, who could see no tangible cause for such unprecedented mortality, among their children, particularly when placed under the care of white men, the case was entirely altered, and in the terrible revenge which they afterwards perpetrated upon the Whitman station, they doubtless sought to avenge the deaths of all their kindred and children who had perished, as they imagined, through the instrumentality of the whites, during long years of association.

Again, in 1838, we are told by the Rev. Dr. Hines that "a fearful mortality" raged among the children that attended the Methodist mission school. About *one-third* of all the children that had been received had died—a ratio of mortality that was almost unprecedented in the annals of any country undergoing the change from barbarism to civilization.

Still again in 1842, a fatal disease carried away many of the children, others ran away, and some were stolen by their parents, until but few were left, and these withering under the influence of the fatal scrofula.

Finally, we find that in 1843, the Indians, not only of the Willamette valley, but those of Eastern Oregon, were seriously disaffected towards the whites. Mr. Hines, treating on this subject, says:

"About this time the Indians became quite troublesome in various parts of the country. At Wailatu, on the Walla Walla river, where a missionary station had been established by Dr. Marcus Whitman, they took advantage of the Doctor's absence and broke into the house in the dead of night, and even into the bed-chamber of Mrs. Whitman, who, with much difficulty, escaped from their hands."

The reader will bear in mind that this outrage upon Mrs. Whitman was perpetrated by the Cayuse Indians, nearly *four years* previous to the arrival of Bishop Blanchet, the author, and the other Catholic missionaries at Fort Walla Walla.

Such experience as illustrated in the foregoing calamities was not calculated to awaken a very warm love for American missionaries in the breasts of savages who came for the first time in contact with white men, and found in such union almost certain death to their children.

True, all the Indian children who died through the "fearful mortality" which raged in the Willamette mission school were not of the Cayuse nation; but these deaths, taken in connection with the "fearful mortality" which subsequently carried off whole tribes of Indians east of the Cascade mountains, had doubtless created prejudices in the minds of the Cayuse and other Indian tribes which were immeasurably unfavorable to the American missionaries. It will be borne in mind that the Cayuses, allied with other tribes, threatened the destruction of the whites prior to 1842. Again in that year they threatened to massacre the whites settled in Oregon in consequence of suspicions which were implanted in the minds of the Indians that the whites designed "to destroy them and take possession of their country." The arrival of a large party of emigrants about this time, and the sudden departure of Dr. Whitman for the United States, with the avowed intention of bringing back with him as many as he could enlist for Oregon, served to hasten them to the above conclusion. Thus the Indians saw in Dr. Whitman the chief cause of bringing so many whites into their country, for the purpose, as they imagined, of destroying their liberties and

their lives, and of occupying their lands, and this conviction in their minds, "strong as holy writ," led them, in conjunction with other causes, real and imaginary, to perpetrate a foul murder, that fell with double force upon the hearts of the Catholic missionaries, from the fact not only of the horror it created in their minds, the loss of their property, which the Indians burned when they abandoned their mission, but it also endangered their own lives, and was the cause for many years of preventing the Catholic missionaries from planting the standard of the cross among other Indians adjacent to the Cayuse nation, who passed away in the same paganism in which they lived, in consequence of no Catholic missionaries being amongst them.

A charge has also been brought against the Catholic missionaries that they carried arms and amunition to hostile Indian bands. This is not only untrue, but the charge is prompted through the basest feelings of malice, and made with the hope of prejudicing the Catholic cause. The facts in the case are simply these: The Catholic missionaries who had established themselves among the Flat-heads, Cour-de-alenes and other Indians of the mountains, were annually in the habit of visiting the settlements for the purpose of laying in their supplies for the ensuing year. Among the more necessary articles indispensable to those who live in the region of the Rocky Mountains, is powder and shot, to be used in procuring game during the long and dreary winter regions where they have to live sometimes six months in succession upon venison or other game. The Indians have, since 1840, been well supplied with arms; but their supplies of amunition would become exhausted, and it became a question of life and death—not only to the missionary himself, but also to those with whom he

resided, and all the Indians in his vicinity—whether he returned from his annual trip with or without ammunition. So great was the necessity for ammunition among the Indians, and so well were their necessities in this respect understood by the early settlers in Oregon, that Governor Abernethy—in his message to the Legislative Assembly which convened early in 1849—asked the Legislature to repeal an act which had been passed at a previous session, forbidding persons selling or conveying arms and ammunition to Indians; and gave as his motive for this request the following cogent reasons: “As many of the Indians live by hunting, and a small quantity of powder and lead is actually necessary to provide for their wants, I think the law should be modified so as to permit the sale of powder and lead to friendly Indians.” It was for this purpose—and this alone—that the Catholic missionaries included powder and lead in their annual supplies—but these supplies were intended for their own peaceable Indians—as no Catholic missionary—under any circumstance ever conveyed munitions of war to hostile bands of Indians at war with American settlers upon American soil. This, I hope, finally disposes of this slander which the enemies of Catholicity have for years rolled under their tongues as a “sweet morsel.”

Finally, this unfortunate massacre stands in the records of history as another evidence of the instability of the Indian character, especially when operated upon by superstitious fears arising from the conviction among the Indians that their country, their property, and their very existence even, was endangered by the influx of Americans. It is characteristic of Indian justice to consider as forfeited the life of the Doctor or “Medicine Man” who fails to effect a cure, or whose patient dies

whilst under his treatment. In this connection it will be borne in mind that the wife of *Tamahas* (the murderer) who killed Dr. Whitman, died whilst under the Doctor's treatment a short time previous to the massacre, and further, it is an established fact that Dr. Whitman had discovered *Tamahas* in a suspicious attitude, a few weeks anterior to his death. These facts establish a predetermination on the part of *Tamahas* and his accomplices in his murderous work, and were doubtless among the principal causes which led to the horrible butchery which followed.

The candid reader will also bear in mind that of all the Indians who imbrued their hands in the innocent blood of the Presbyterian missionaries, *not one among them professed the Catholic faith*, and in order to exhibit the character of the Cayuse Indians, we need only refer to the opinion expressed by a correspondent of the *Oregon American*, who says:

"The Cayuses had become a praying people. In almost every lodge the family altar was erected. No doubt on the morning of the bloody 29th the murderers were scrupulous to observe their morning devotions—again at evening, while the dead bodies of the slain lay unburied, the food of the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the earth. One of the actors of this horrible scene was a member of our church, and while he held one of the captives as his wife, the sport of his brutal passions, he was careful to have morning and evening prayer, and to read a portion of the scripture from his book which we printed while he was in our school at Clear water."\*

Taking these facts, in connection with other equally

\*A missionary station among the Nez Percés near the present site of Fort Lapwai, Idaho, and under charge of Mr. Spalding.



important and convincing evidence, no impartial mind can be warped into the conclusion that the Catholic missionaries were in the remotest degree, responsible for the atrocities at Dr. Whitman's mission. Aside from the horror which pervades the mind of every christian when contemplating the horrible sacrifice of human life, the natural current of events even, preclude the possibility of any collusion between missionaries of one faith, and Indians of another. The Catholic missionaries had never interfered with the Cayuse Indians under charge of Dr. Whitman and his associates. They could have no possible influence over them, either through spiritual advice or temporal friendship. Bishop Blanchet and the other Catholic missionaries arrived at Fort Walla Walla, in September, 1847, where they remained until the 28th of November, at which time they opened their first mission among the Umatilla Indians (not one of whom was concerned in the murder) at a distance of twenty-five miles from Dr. Whitman's station. At a council of the Chiefs of Indian tribes located along the banks of the Columbia between the Dalles and Walla Walla, called for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the several chiefs relative to having Catholic missionaries among them, Bishop Blanchet had peremptorily refused the offer of some of the Cayuse Chiefs to dispossess Dr. Whitman. At a subsequent period, the writer reiterated to *Tilokaikt* (one of the chiefs of the Cayuse nation, who had tendered the mission lands) the refusal of the Bishop, and again rejected the offer. In order to set this matter visibly at rest, the writer proceeded at once to the camp of the young Chief (a Cayuse Indian who had been converted and who for several years had been expecting Catholic missionaries) and there entered upon his missionary labors, occupying a

house that had been erected for the Young Chief, who gave the missionaries the use of it. Thus it will be perceived that the Catholic mission was located many miles from Dr. Whitman's mission—among Indians, some of whom were already Catholics, but not one of whom was concerned in the massacre. The murder of Dr. Whitman and his associates occurred on the 29th of November, one day after the Catholic mission was commenced. It may here be reasonably asked: what evil influence could the Catholic missionaries—even if so inclined—have exercised over a tribe of Indians among whom they never resided, and whose lodges were twenty-five miles distant, to induce them to perpetrate the foul murder of thirteen innocent people? The answer is plain—neither time nor circumstances could possibly permit them to have any influence or communication with the Indians who committed the massacre. To think otherwise is not only repugnant to every feeling of christian charity, but of common sense.

With these remarks the author presents the present volume to the reading public, believing that the perusal of its pages will not only prove interesting to the general reader—containing as they do a tragic chapter in the early history of this coast, and embracing incidents of frontier life sufficient to interest the student of history—but this little work may also prove its utility by dispelling the atmosphere of prejudice into which some minds may have unthinkingly wandered, and bring home to their better nature the pure light of historic truth.

J. B. A. BROUILLET, V. G.

WALLA WALLA, August, 1869.





## THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

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A deplorable event signalised the autumn of the year 1847 in Oregon, and brought consternation to all hearts. The 29th of November, Dr. Marcus Whitman, Presbyterian missionary among the Cayuses, his wife and eight other Americans, fell victims to the barbarity of the Indians, and three others shared the same fate a few days afterwards. For a time all the people apprehended that the fury of the savages would not stop there, but, that after having made new victims of the women and children who remained alive at the station, passing from tribe to tribe, it would excite suddenly all the neighboring Indians and bring them at once upon the Willamette settlements.

The Catholic Bishop of Walla Walla and his clergy, stationed in the neighborhood of the place of the disaster, together with the clerk in charge of Fort Walla Walla and some other persons, were however so fortunate as to quiet by degrees, through their influence, their advice and their repeated solicitations, the fury of the Indians, and save the lives of the widows and orphans, until Mr. P. S. Ogden, one of the chief Factors of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, came up to Fort Walla Walla, and having bought them from the hands of the Indians, had the consolation and glory of bringing them down in safety to the Willamette. The efforts both of the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the clergy, had also the good effect of preventing for a time the Indians from carrying their hostilities any farther.

The causes, both remote and immediate, of the disaster, were clear, and left no doubts in the minds of unprejudiced persons, who knew the history of these countries, and the dispositions, prejudices, and superstitions of the Indians. It was evident that the ravages caused amongst them by the measles and dysentery, together with false reports and advices of a vagabond who was in the employ of Dr. Whitman, were the only motives that urged the Indians to that act of atrocity, inclined as they were to believe these reports from the suspicions and dissatisfaction that they had been for a long time entertaining against Dr. Whitman in particular and the Americans in general.

But a certain gentleman, moved on by religious fanaticism, and ashamed of owing his own life and that of his family and friends to some priests, began to insinuate false suspicions about the true causes of the disaster—proceeded by degrees to make more open accusations, and finally declared publicly that the Bishop of Walla Walla and his clergy were the first cause and great movers of all the evil. The gentleman is the Rev. H. H. Spalding, whose life had been saved from the Indians by a priest at the peril of his own.

His first insinuations were so malicious and their meaning so well understood, that Colonel Gilliam and his troops, about starting for the purpose of chastising the murderers at Wailatpu, said publicly that the priests, missionaries of the Cayuses, were deserving death, and that they would shoot or hang the first one of them they should meet. A letter, however, written to Colonel Gilliam by the Bishop of Walla Walla, and some explanations given by a priest to him and to the Commissary, General J. Palmer, before they started for the upper country, satisfied them, and the Colonel declared then that "Mr. Spalding could not have spoken so without being crazy," and Gen. Palmer said that "he ought not to be allowed any more to go among the Indians." A relation of the principal circumstances of the awful deed, which Colonel Gilliam himself had asked of one of the missionaries of the Cayuses, dissipated completely his prejudices against the priests, and from that moment to his death he did not cease to be one of their best and most sincere friends.

Hon. P. H. Burnett being aware of the different accusations made by Mr. Spalding, in his conversation and preaching, and of the unfavorable impressions that they were producing upon persons ignorant and already prejudiced, asked him in 1848, to give him in writing the charges he had made and the testimony which supported them, in order that he might see what means of defence the accused could employ.

That demand was followed sometime afterwards by the publication of a letter from Mr. Spalding and of his "History of the Massacre at Wailatpu" in the *Oregon American*. These writings, intermixed with editorial notes in the same sense, contain many grievous accusations against the clergy and the Catholics in general. Mr. Burnett then began in the *Oregon American* an answer that he intended to pursue, when the cessation of the journal obliged him to suspend it.

Judging then that it would be to the interest of religion that the public should be informed of the truth in that matter, in order to destroy the bad impressions which such atrocious accusations might have made on the minds of some persons, I have considered it my duty, as a priest, to resume the task of Mr. Burnett and to restore the facts which have been misconstrued by Mr. Spalding and others. Such is the origin and the design of this writing. It was prepared in the fall of 1848, but circumstances did not allow me to have it published for the first time until the year 1853.

I show first the causes of the massacre of Wailatpu. I give next a minute journal of the principal events that occurred in the Walla Walla country from the arrival of the Bishop and his clergy there until the moment they left that country for the Willamette settlements, and I conclude by a summary of all the principal charges made against the Catholic clergy by Mr. Spalding, the *Oregon American*, and others, up to the month of October, 1848, with an answer to each of them.

An appendix has also been added wherein will be found many documents confirmatory of the evidence inserted in the body of the work.

## CHAPTER I.

*The remote and immediate causes which led to the Whitman massacre.*

That events had occurred prior to the arrival of Bishop Blanchet and the other Catholic missionaries at Walla Walla in 1848, which ultimately led to the unfortunate tragedy at Dr. Whitman's station will appear evident to every unprejudiced reader who calmly considers the following facts:—

I. Mr. McKinlay, the intimate friend of Dr. Whitman, had been for four or five years in charge of Fort Walla Walla. During his stay there, being aware of the evil dispositions of the Indians towards the Doctor, he warned him very often that he was in danger, that the Indians hated him, and that he had better go away, because he was afraid they would kill him. After he left the Fort he did not cease to advise him every year to leave Wailatpu, telling him that if he persisted in remaining there, the Indians would certainly kill him sooner or later.

II. Some years ago, prior to 1848, Dr. McLaughlin, then Governor of Fort Vancouver and of all the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, judging by some difficulties which Dr. Whitman had with the Indians, that it was dangerous for him to stay any longer among them, wrote to him to urge him to leave his mission, at least for some time, and to come down to the Willamette, telling him that he feared the Indians would kill him if he should persist in remaining among them under such circumstances. A copy of that letter was inserted in the journal of Fort Vancouver.

III. Mr. R. Newell—agent among the Nez Perces Indians—who lived many years with the Nez Perces, and who had an opportunity of knowing the Cayuses well, often said to Dr. Whitman that he ought to leave Wailatpu, because the Indians hated him and would kill him. He told me himself, speaking of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, that he was astonished they had stood so long. "Mr. Spalding would have been killed long



ago, said he, if it had not been for his wife, who was very much liked by the Indians."

IV. Dr. Bayley, a member of the Legislature of the Territory, warned in like manner Dr. Whitman, as a friend, to clear away from the Cayuses, because if he did not they would kill him.

V. Messrs. J. Douglas and P. S. Ogden, both chief Factors of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, together with the most part of Dr. Whitman's friends, had been for a long time trying every year to induce him to come down to the Willamette for his safety.

VI. In the spring of 1848, Gen. Joel Palmer, the Indian Agent and Commissary General for the troops, and one of three Commissioners appointed to treat for peace with the Indians, said in my presence at Fort Walla Walla, that he and the other Commissioners had found about the Doctor's house many letters which proved that even in 1845 he was considered as being in danger.

VII. Ill treatment had been received at different times previously by Dr. Whitman, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Gray and Mr. Smith, as is evident from the statements of Messrs. Toupin, Gervais and McKay, that are found in the following pages.

VIII. Mr. Spalding says in his writings: "The months of deep solicitude we had, occasioned by the increasing menacing demands of the Indians for pay for their water, their wood, their air, their lands..... We have held ourselves ready to leave the country whenever the Indians as a body wished it..... Dr. Whitman twice during the last year called the Cayuses together, and told them if a majority wished he would leave the country at once..... Dr. Whitman held himself ready to sell the Wailatpu Station to the Catholic mission, whenever a majority of the Cayuses might wish it..... When they (the Indians) returned from California two years ago, after the death of the son of the Walla Walla chief, several meetings were held to consider whether Dr. Whitman, myself, or some other American teacher should be killed as a set-off for Elijah."

IX. The same Mr. Spalding said on the 31st of August, 1846, to Dr. Poujade, (see his statement): "The

Indians are getting worse every day for two or three years back ; they are threatening to turn us out of these missions. A few days ago they tore down my fences ; and I do not know what the Missionary Board of New York means to do. It is a fact we are doing no good ; when the emigration passes, the Indians all run off to trade, and return worse than when we came amongst them."

X. Dr. Whitman had declared many times during the last two years of his life that he wished to leave ; that he knew the Indians were ill disposed towards him and that it was dangerous for him to remain among them ; that for a couple of years he had done nothing for the teaching of the Indians, because they would not listen to him. He said in the fall of 1847 that he would leave certainly in the spring for the Dalles, where he had already bought the Methodist mission. He went so far then as to ask Mr. McKay to pass the winter with him, for fear of the Indians, and seemed disposed to exchange his place at Wailatpu for another one in the Willamette. (See Mr. McKay's statement). Mr. Spalding declared also, in the winter of 1847, that for three or four years he had ceased to teach the Indians, as they refused to hear him (See Gervais' statement).

XI. From a letter of Dr. White Indian Agent, written in 1845 to the Indian Department at Washington, it is evident that at that time the whole colony was in a terrible fright, expecting that all the Indian tribes of the Walla Walla country would massacre the Americans who were upon their lands, and next would come down upon the Willamette settlement and destroy the whole colony.

XII. In spite of the enthusiasm that had signalized the first year of the establishment of his mission, Mr. Spalding was complaining even as early as 1840, that he had very little hope in the dispositions of the Nez Perces. (See Mr. Spalding's Letters, printed in the American Board of Missionaries for Foreign Missions, published in 1842.)

XIII. A missionary of the Spokans, writing to Dr. Whitman as early as 1839, said : "The failure of this mission (the Spokane) is so strongly impressed upon my



mind that I feel it necessary to have cane in hand and as much as one shoe on, ready for a move. I see nothing but the power of God that can save us."

These facts and statements prove clearly that there existed among the Indians, long before the arrival of the bishop of Walla Walla and his clergy, strong causes of dissatisfaction against the Protestant missionaries and the Americans in general, and that they formed a leaven that had been fermenting for several years.

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## CHAPTER II.

### *Documentary Evidence Proving the foregoing assertions*

#### MR. JOHN TOUPIN'S STATEMENT, IN 1848.

"I have been seventeen years employed as interpreter at Fort Walla Walla, and I left that Fort about seven years ago. I was there when Mr. Parker, in 1835, came to select places for Presbyterian missions among the Cayuses and the Nez Perces, and to ask lands for these missions. He employed me as interpreter in his negotiations with the Indians on that occasion. Mr. Pombrun, the gentleman then in charge of the Fort, accompanied him to the Cayuses and the Nez Perces.

"Mr. Parker, in company with Mr. Pombrun, an American and myself, went first to the Cayuses upon the lands called Wailatpu, that belonged to the three chiefs—Splitted Lip, or Yomtipi, Red Cloak, or Waptachtakamal, and Tilaukaikt. Having met them at that place he told them that he was coming to select a place to build a preaching house to teach them how to live, and to teach school to their children; that he would not come himself to establish the mission, but a Doctor or a medicine man would come in his place; that the Doctor would be the chief of the mission, and would come in the following spring. 'I come to select a place for a mission,' said he, 'but I do not intend to take your lands for nothing. After the Doctor is come, there will come every year a big ship, loaded with goods

to be divided among the Indians. Those goods will not be sold, but given to you. The missionaries will bring you plows and hoes, to teach you how to cultivate the land, and they will not sell, but give them to you.'

"From the Cayuses Mr. Parker went to the Nez Perces, about 125 miles distant, on the lands of the Old Button, on a small creek which empties into the Clearwater seven or eight miles from the actual mission. And there he made the same promises to the Indians as at Wailatu. 'Next spring there will come a missionary to establish himself here and take a piece of land; but he will not take it for nothing; you shall be paid every year; this is the American fashion.'

"In the following year, 1836, Dr. Whitman arrived among the Cayuses, and began to build. The Indians did not stop him, as they expected to be paid, as they said.

In the summer of the next year, 1837, Splitted Lip asked him where the goods which he had promised him were; whether he would pay him or whether he wanted to steal his lands. He told him if he did not want to pay him, he had better go off immediately, because he did not want to give his lands for nothing. This has been told me very often by the Indians at that time.

"In the winter of the ensuing year, 1838, as Splitted Lip's wife was sick, he went to the Doctor one evening and told him: 'Doctor, you have come here to give us bad medicines; you come to kill us, and you steal our lands. You had promised to pay me every year, and you have been here already two years and have as yet given me nothing. You had better go away; if my wife dies; you shall die also.' I happened to be present in the house when he spoke so, and I heard him.

"I very often heard the Indians speaking of new difficulties relative to the payment for their lands, arising from year to year. They constantly told the Doctor to pay them or else go away; and the Doctor always persisted in remaining there without paying them, saying that the Indians were talking lightly, and that they would do him no harm. He let them have ploughs, but those only who had good horses to give him, as they said.

"The Indians often complained that the Doctor and his wife were very severe and hard to them, and often ill-treated them, which occasioned frequent quarrels between them and the Doctor.

"One day the Doctor had a great quarrel with the Indians, on account of some of their horses that had damaged his grain, and was very ill treated by them. They insulted him, covered him with mud, plucked out his beard, pulled his ears, tried to throw his house down, snapped a gun at him twice, and attempted to strike him with an axe, which he avoided by turning his head aside.

"A short time afterwards he started for the United States, telling the Indians that he was going to see the great chief of the Americans, and that when he would return, he would bring with himself many people to chastise them; and the Indians had been looking to his return with great anxiety and fear.

"Mr. Spalding established his mission among the Nez Perces in the same year (1836) as Dr. Whitman did among the Cayuses.

"The following year, 1837, he decided to send Mr. Gray to the United States with a band of horses to exchange them for cattle. Three Indian chiefs started with Mr. Gray, viz: Ellis, the Blue Cloak and the Hat. When at the rendezvous their horses feet began to fail, Ellis then observed to his companions that they could not continue their journey, their horses being unable to stand the trip, and that they would die on the road. Then he and the Blue Cloak returned back, while the Hat went on with Mr. Gray. Ellis and Blue Cloak arrived in the fall at the mission of Mr. Spalding, who got very angry when he saw them back, and said that they deserved severe punishment. He could not take Ellis, who had too strong a party; but the Blue Cloak, having come one evening with the others to prayer, Mr. Spalding saw him, and commanded the Indians to take him; and as no one would move, the young chief Nez Perce, or Tonwitakis, arose with anger, took hold of the Indian and tied him up, and then said to Mr. Spalding: 'Now whip him.' Mr. Spalding answered him: 'No, I do not whip; I stand in the place of God, I command; God does not whip, he commands.' 'You are a

liar,' said the Indian chief, 'look at your image, (pointing to an image hanging on the wall, which Mr. Spalding had made for the instruction of the Indians) you have painted two men in it and God behind them with a bundle of rods to whip them. Whip him, or if not we will put you in his place and whip you.' Mr. Spalding obeyed, whipped the Indian, and received from him the horse that he had exacted.

'The third chief, who had followed Mr. Gray on his journey to the States, was killed on the way by the Sioux or Pawnees. When Mr. Gray returned, in the ensuing year, 1838, Ellis, seeing that he was alone, and learning that his companion had been killed, went to Mr. Spalding, and said to him: 'Hear me; the Hat, who accompanied Mr. Gray, has been killed; if we had gone with him we should have been killed too; and because we returned back, refusing to follow him, you wished us to be flogged; you then intended that we should be killed, also.' The Indians then met together and kept all the whites who lived at the station blockaded in their house for more than a month. I was then sent three times by Mr. Pombrun to the Nez Perces, to induce them to set the missionaries and their people at liberty, observing to them that it was not the fault of Mr. Gray if the Indian chief had been killed; and it was at my third trip only that I could induce them to accept tobacco in sign of peace, and to retire.

"About the year 1839, in the fall, Mr. Smith, belonging to the same society as Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, asked Ellis permission to build upon his lands for the purpose of teaching the Indians as the other missionaries were doing, and of keeping a school. Ellis allowed him to build, but forbade him to cultivate the land, and warned him that if he did the piece of ground which he would till should serve to bury him in. In the following spring, however, Mr. Smith prepared his plow to till the ground; and Ellis, seeing him ready to begin, went to him and said to him: 'Do you not recollect what I told you? I do not wish you to cultivate the land.' Mr. Smith, however, persisted in his determination; but as he was beginning to plow, the Indians took hold of him and said to him; 'Do you not know what



has been told you, that you would be digging a hole in which you should be buried?" Mr. Smith then did not persist any longer, but said to them: "Let me go, I will leave the place;" and he started off immediately. That circumstance has been related to me by the Indians, and soon after I saw Mr. Smith myself, at Fort Walla Walla; he was on his way down to Fort Vancouver, where he embarked for the Sandwich Islands, from whence he did not come back any more.

"I have witnessed repeated efforts on the part of Mr. Pombrun to help Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding. He often told me that the Doctor treated him very friendly, but that it was but reasonable on his part, as without him those missionaries could not stand, and would have been killed long since.

"Two Catholic missionaries passed by Walla Walla in 1838, on their way from Canada to Fort Vancouver. In the years 1839 and 1840, one of them, Father Demers, came to Walla Walla for a short time each year, and gave instructions to the Indians, which a great part of the Cayuses came to hear. Some time after, Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, being alarmed at seeing so many Indians abandoning them to go and hear the priest, came to Fort Walla Walla, and reproved Mr. Pombrun for having allowed the priest to teach the Indians in his Fort. I was near the gate of the Fort, when the Doctor had hardly dismounted from his horse before he said, a little excited, to Mr. Pombrun: "I thought, sir, that you had promised me that you would not allow that priest the liberty of speaking to the Indians in your Fort. If that man has the liberty of coming among the Indians, we shall have to abandon them; we shall be unable to do anything more among them."

"Two years ago, 1846, a Cayuse came to my house, in the Willamette settlement, and stopped with me over two weeks. During that time he often spoke of Dr. Whitman, complaining that he possessed the lands of the Indians, on which he was raising a great deal of wheat, which he was selling to the Americans without giving them anything; that he had a mill upon their lands and they had to pay him for grinding their wheat—a big horse, for twenty sacks. He said they told him to leave,

but he would not listen to them; that they had been much enlightened by the Americans; before they had no wit, but the Americans had given them some; they had told them that the American missionaries were stealing their lands; that they were receiving great benefit from them, and that they were living among them for the purpose of enriching themselves."

(Signed)

JOHN TOUPIN.

ST. LOUIS OF WILLAMETTE, Sept. 24, 1848.

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MR. THOMAS M'KAY'S STATEMENT IN 1848.

"I was at Fort Walla Walla last fall, when the Cayuse chiefs, at the request of the Bishop of Walla Walla, met there to decide whether they would give him a piece of land for a mission.

During the meeting, Tumsakay said that Dr. Whitman was a bad man; that he robbed and poisoned them. The Bishop replied to him that 'his thoughts were bad, the Doctor did not poison them, nor rob them; he had to banish those thoughts from his mind. You do not know the Doctor,' he added, 'he is not a bad man.'

"One of the chiefs told the Bishop that they would send the doctor off very soon; they would give him his house if he wished. The Bishop answered that he did not wish them to send the Doctor away, and that there was room enough for two missions.

"The Doctor often told me that for a couple of years he had ceased to teach the Indians because they would not listen to him. He told me repeatedly, during the two last years especially, that he wished to leave; that he knew the Indians were ill-disposed towards him, and it was dangerous for him to stay there; but that he wished all the chiefs to tell him to go away, in order to excuse himself to the Board of Foreign Missions. Last fall, during my stay at Fort Walla Walla, long before the meeting of the chiefs, called by the Bishop, the Doctor asked me to go and pass the winter with him, saying that he was afraid of the Indians. I told him I could not, on account of my business, which called me home;

but that I would exchange my place for his if he wished. Then he replied he would see my place. He told me also several times last fall that he would leave certainly in the spring for the Dalles. I am aware, moreover, that the Cayuses have a great many times ill-treated Dr. Whitman."

(Signed,)

THOMAS MCKAY.

St. LOUIS of Willamette, Sept. 11, 1848.

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#### MR. JOHN BAPTIST GERVAIS' STATEMENT IN 1848.

"I spent last fall and last winter among the Nez Perces. I arrived there at the beginning of October. But I have known the Nez Perces for over twenty years, having been in the habit of trading and traveling with them almost every year; and it was at their request that I had gone to settle in their country. For many years I had heard the Nez Perces very often speaking badly of Mr. Spalding. It appeared to me that the greatest part of those Indians disliked and hated him. According to their reports, they were very often quarreling with him; they complained that Mr. Spalding was too quick tempered. He fought with them twice, and tried to fire at them once. The Indians ill-treated and insulted him in a great many ways. They threw down his mill, pretending it was theirs.

"Mr. Spalding told me himself last fall that for three or four years back he had ceased entirely to teach the Indians, because they refused to hear him."

(Signed,)

JOHN BAPTIST GERVAIS.

St. PAUL of Willamette, Oct. 15, 1848.

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#### MESSRS. JOHN YOUNG'S AND AUGUSTIN RAYMOND'S STATEMENT IN 1848.

"I spent the winter of 1846 in Dr. Whitman's employment. I generally worked at the saw-mill. During the time I was there, I observed that Dr. Whitman was in the habit of poisoning the wolves. I did not see him put the poison in the baits for the wolves; but two



young men of the house, by his order, were poisoning pieces of meat, and distributing them in the places where the wolves were in the habit of coming, at a short distance around the establishment of the Doctor.

"The Doctor gave me once some arsenic to poison the wolves that were around the saw-mill. By his order I poisoned some pieces of meat which I fixed at the end of short sticks at about a quarter of a mile from the saw-mill. Some Indians who happened to pass there, took the meat and eat it; three of them were very sick and were near dying. After they got better, the old chief, Tilaukaikt, with a certain number of others, came to me at the saw-mill, and told me, (pointing to those who had eaten the poisoned meat,) that they had been very sick; that if they had died, their hearts would have been very bad, and they would have killed me; but as they did not die, their hearts were consoled, and they would not hurt me. Some days afterwards, the Doctor told me, laughing, that they would have certainly died, if they had not drunk a great quantity of warm water, to excite vomiting. 'I had told them very often,' said he, 'not to eat of that meat which we distributed for the wolves, that it would kill them: they will take care now, I suppose.'

"An American, who was also in the service of Dr. Whitman, worked with me at the saw-mill. He got from me a part of the poison which the Doctor had given me, and with it poisoned some other meat for the purpose of killing tigers, as he said.

"About eight years ago, the first year I came into the country, I stopped for about ten days with Mr. A. Raymond, the companion of my journey, at Dr. Whitman's, who happened to have then a quantity of melons in his garden. Mr. Gray, who was then living with the Doctor, offered us as many melons to eat as we liked; but he warned us at the same time not to eat them indiscriminately, as some of them were poisoned. 'The Indians,' said he, 'are continually stealing our melons; to stop them, we have put a little poison on the bigger ones, in order that the Indians who will eat them might be a little sick: we did not put on enough of it to kill them, but only enough to make them a little sick.' And he

went and selected himself some melons for us to eat."

(Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

St. PAUL of Willamette, September 12, 1848.

This is to certify that the part of the above statement of Mr. John Young relative to the putting of poison on some melons at Dr. Whitman's establishment is correct. I was with Mr. Young at that time; I heard what Mr. Gray told him: his words were directed to both of us, and I have eaten of the melons which Mr. Gray gave us at that time.

(Signed)

AUGUSTINE RAYMOND.

St. Paul of Willamette, Sept. 12, 1848.

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*Extracts from a Letter written on the 4th of April, 1845, by Dr. Elijah White, Sub-Indian Agent, west of the Rocky Mountains, to the Indian Department at Washington.*

After speaking of some difficulties that occurred in California between the Cayuses and the Walla Wallas on one part, and the Spaniards and Americans on the other, on account of some stolen horses that the Cayuses and Walla Wallas had taken from hostile Indians by fighting them, Mr. White passes on to relate a murder there committed coolly by an American the fall previous, upon the person of Elijah, the son of the Yellow Serpent, the chief of the Walla Wallas, in the following way:

"The Indians had gone to the fort of Captain Sutter to church, and after service, Elijah was invited into another apartment, taking with him his uncle, (Young Chief, or Tawatowe, of the Umatilla river,) a brave and sensible chief, of the age of five and forty; while there, in an unarmed and defenceless condition, they commenced menancing him for things alleged against the river Indians of this upper country, in which none of them had any participation, called them indiscriminately dogs, thieves, &c. This American then observed, 'yesterday you were going to kill me, now you must die,' and drawing a pistol—Elijah, who had been five or six

years at the Methodist mission, and had learned to read, write, and speak English respectably, said, deliberately, 'let me pray a little first,' and kneeling down, at once commenced, and, when invoking the divine mercy, was shot through the heart or vitals, dead upon the spot.

"Taking for truth an Indian report, this horrible affair creates considerable excitement, and there is some danger of its disturbing the friendly relation that hitherto existed between us here and all those formidable tribes in the region of Walla Walla and Snake river.

"Learning from Dr. Whitman, who resides in their midst, how much they were all excited by reason of the treacherous and violent death of this educated and accomplished young chief, and, perhaps, more especially by the loss they had sustained, and then, after suffering so many hardships and encountering so many dangers, losing the whole, I apprehended there might be much difficulty in adjusting it, particularly as they lay much stress upon the restless, disaffected scamps, late from Willamette to California, loading them with the vile epithets of dogs, thieves, &c., from which they believed or affected to believe, that the slanderous reports of our citizens caused all their loss and disasters, and therefore held us responsible. He, Ellis, the Nez Perce chief, assured me that the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces, Spokans, Pondereys, and Snakes were all on terms of amity, and that a portion of the aggrieved party were for raising a party of about two thousand warriors of those formidable tribes, and march to California at once, and nobly revenge themselves on the inhabitants by capture and plunder, enrich themselves upon the spoils; whilst others not indisposed to the enterprise, wished first to learn how it would be regarded here, and whether we would remain neutral in the affair. A third party were for holding us responsible, as Elijah was killed by an American, and the Americans incensed the Spaniards.

"Sir, how this affair will end is difficult to conjecture; the general impression is that it will lead to the most disastrous consequences to the Californians themselves, or to the colony of the Willamette valley. My principal fear is that it results in so much jealousy, prejudice and disaffection, as to divert their minds from the pursuit of knowledge, agriculture, and the means of civilization,

which they have been for such a length of time so laudably engaged in obtaining.

"Should this be the case with these numerous, brave, and formidable tribes, the result to them and to us would be, indeed, most calamitous. To prevent such a result I wrote, through Ellis, a long, cordial, and rather sympathizing letter to the chiefs of these tribes, assuring them that I should at once write to the Governor of California, to Captain Sutter, and to our great chief, respecting this matter. With a view, to divert attention and promote good feeling, I invited all the chiefs to come down in the fall, before the arrival of the emigrants, in company with Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, and confer with me upon this subject."

(Signed,)

ELIJAH WHITE.

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#### MR. WILLIAM CRAIG'S STATEMENT IN 1848.

Question by Hon. P. H. Burnett—State whether you were acquainted with Tom Hill, a Delaware Indian, and when and where, and what statements he made to the Nez Perces, and whether the Cayuses were informed of his statements, and what impression he made on the Indians?

Answer—The first acquaintance was in the Rocky Mountains in the year 1837, and then in 1845, when he came to the Nez Perces country. I frequently heard that he had been telling unfavorable tales of the Americans; how they had treated the Indians in his country. He said the first were missionaries that came to him, and then others came in and settled, and then commenced taking our lands, and finally drove us off; and they will do the same to you. This I had heard of Tom Hill. On seeing him, I asked him what he had told the Indians; if he had told them so and so, as I had heard. He said he had told them how the Americans had treated them in his place, and they had better not keep Spalding there, or it would be the same thing with them; I am acquainted with missionaries; it is only a way of making property; there is nothing in religion, only to make money; you can see that; look how they are sell-

ing everything they raise in your own lands; you cannot get anything from them without paying for it, not so much as a piece of meat when you are hungry. After my interview with Hill, he came once in company with some Nez Perces to Dr. Whitman's; after remaining there some twelve or fifteen days, he returned; I asked him how he and the Doctor got along; he told me very well; that he was a heap better man than Spalding; he had asked him into his house sometimes. After that the Doctor told me Tom had done some mischief with the Indians in that place.

Question—Will you state what is the custom among the Cayuses when a medicine man fails to cure a patient and the patient dies?

Answer—Since I have been acquainted with them, it has always been their custom in such cases to kill the medicine man or woman; and every year since I have known them, I have heard of them killing such persons.

Question—How long have you been acquainted with the Cayuses?

Answer—Since the year 1840.

Question—State whether you ever heard any of the Cayuses say anything about the Catholics establishing missions among them, and whether they disliked that they should?

Answer.—I heard an Indian, who was left in charge of the Young Chief's business, while the chief was out after buffalo, and which was sometime during the summer of 1847, say that the Young Chief told him that if they, the Catholic missionaries, should come there before he got back, to tell them to remain, but not to commence building until his return, and he would show them where to build. It was, however, a common report among the Nez Perces that the Cayuses had asked the Catholics to come among them and to establish missions.

Question.—Did you hear Dr. Whitman say anything relative to the Catholics establishing missions among the Indians; if so, state what?

Answer.—Dr. Whitman told me that he heard a talk of the Catholics establishing a mission on the Tucannon, about sixty miles off, and said he would rather they would be nearer at hand.



Question.—State where you were at the time the massacre took place, and what do you know about a messenger from the murderers to the Nez Perces Indians, and what the messenger said in reference to the cause of the Cayuses killing Dr. Whitman.

Answer.—I was living about ten miles from Mr. Spalding's mission. Mr. Camfield first brought the news of the massacre. On the 8th, after the massacre, being Monday, a great many Indians met at Mr. Spalding's before Mr. S. had returned; a messenger came there from the Cayuses, and the Indians, when assembled, required him to state all he knew about the matter, and to state the truth; I was present; and he said, in substance, that all the chiefs were concerned, except Young Chief and Five Crows, who knew nothing of it; that the cause of the murder was that Dr. Whitman and Spalding were poisoning the Indians. They asked him, are you sure that they were poisoning the Indians? He said yes. How do you know it? Jos. Lewis said so. What did he say? Jos. Lewis said that Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding had been writing for two years to their friends in the East, where Jos. Lewis lived, to send them poison to kill off the Cayuses and the Nez Perces; and they had sent them some that was not good, and they wrote for more that would kill them off quick, and that the medicine had come this summer. Jos. Lewis said he was lying on the settee in Dr. Whitman's room, and he heard a conversation between Dr. Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, and Mr. Spalding, in which Mr. Spalding asked the Doctor why he did not kill the Indians off faster? "Oh," said the Doctor, "they are dying fast enough; the young ones will die off this winter, and the old ones next spring." Mrs. Whitman said that our friends will be on, and want to settle in this country. A talk then took place between Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, in which they said, how easy we will live when the Indians are all killed off; such an Indian has so many horses, and such an Indian so many spotted horses, and our boys will drive them up, and we will give them to our friends. One of them said that man will hear us, alluding to Jos. Lewis. Oh, no, said another, he cannot hear, he is sleeping sound. They talked rather low, but Jos. Lewis said

he could hear all that passed. This Indian messenger stated that Jos. Lewis had made this statement in a council of the Cayuses on the Saturday night previous to the murder, and that Jos. Lewis said he had heard this conversation between Dr. Whitman and the others on the Wednesday before the murder. Jos. Lewis, the messenger said, told the Cayuses in the council that unless they (the Indians) killed Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding quick, they would all die. The messenger went on to say himself, that one hundred and ninety-seven Indians had died since the immigration commenced passing that summer. He said that there were six buried on Monday morning, and among the rest his own wife; he said he knew they were poisoned.

Question.—Are you acquainted with the fact that the small-pox was spread among the Blackfeet Indians east of the Rocky Mountains? If so, state in what year, and how far it spread, and whether a knowledge of this fact is not familiar with the Cayuses and Nez Perces.

Answer.—In the year 1837, the small-pox was spread among the Blackfeet Indians by one Beckwith, who brought the matter for that purpose. Beckwith took it himself, and a clerk at one of the trading posts, Fort Muriab, on one branch of the Missouri river, helped to spread it among the Blackfeet Indians for the purpose of killing them off. A knowledge of this fact is common among the Nez Perces, and, I think, among the Cayuses.

(Signed,)

WILLIAM CRAIG.

July 11, 1848.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE ADDUCED IN THE FOREGOING CHAPTER.

Every impartial and unprejudiced person, after reading attentively the foregoing documents, will come to the conclusion that the causes, both remote and immediate of the whole evil, must have been the following:—

I. The promise made by Mr. Parker to the Cayuses



and the Nez Perces of paying for their lands every year, and the want of fulfillment of that promise.

Thence came "the months of deep solicitude, occasioned by the increasing and menacing demands of the Indians for pay for their water, their wood, their air, their lands," of which Mr. Spalding complains in his "History of the Massacre." It was not unnatural that the Indians seeing they were refused the price fixed for their lands, should repeat their demands, and finally come to the threatenings. White people would not have done much less.

II. The death of the Nez Perces' chief, killed on his way to the United States, when he was in company with Mr. Gray, and in his service.

The conclusion is evident from the circumstances which preceded that death, and from the proceedings of the Nez Perces against Mr. Spalding, and all the people of his establishment on account of it, and likewise from the general habit of the Indians in such cases. Besides, in the council that the Cayuses held sometime after the massacre, to offer to the government their proposals of peace, Tilaukaikt was mentioning that death as one of their grounds of complaint against the Americans.

III. The murder committed by an American in California, on the person of Elijah, the son of the Walla Walla chief, in 1844.

Dr. White's letter says in relation to that murder: "The general impression is that it will lead to the most disastrous consequences to the Californians themselves, or to the colony of the Willamette valley." Mr. Spalding says in his "History of the Massacre:" "When they, the Indians, returned back from California, two years ago, after the death of the son of the Walla Walla chief, several meetings were held to consider whether Dr. Whitman, myself, or some other American teacher, should be killed as a set-off for Elijah." And Mr. McKinlay assures me that in the fall of 1844, the Indians, a short time after their return from California, met one day at Fort Walla Walla, seven hundred in number, all armed, and decided to walk down immediately upon the colony of the Willamette, and that they could be stopped only by the Young Chief, who, by his influence and en-

treaties, decided them to abandon their undertaking and to go home. And in the spring of 1847, the Walla Walla chief himself, Yellow Serpent, started with a party of Walla Wallas and Cayuses for the purpose of attacking the Americans in California, whom they thought unsuspecting, but having found them on their guard, and too strong to be attacked without danger, he took their part against the Spaniards, offered his services to them, and fought in their ranks. On his way, coming back, he lost many of his people from sickness, so that he and his young men, when arrived at home in the fall, felt worse disposed than ever towards the Americans. And Tilaukaikt mentioned that murder also among the grievances that they had against the Americans.

IV. The tales of Tom Hill in accordance with what was going on among the Indians.

That Indian had told the Nez Perces and Cayuses that "the first were missionaries," who came to them "only to make property, that there was nothing in religion." Now, when the Protestant missionaries arrived among those tribes of Indians, they assured them that they came only to teach them and to help them to live better, and promised them a great price for their lands. But soon after they got their lands they worked for themselves and neglected the Indians, and even for three or four years they had ceased entirely to teach them, as Mr. Spalding said. They got bands of horses, sheep and cattle; made large farms, traded with the emigrants their horses, cattle and grain, and were getting rich without dividing with the Indians. They refused obstinately, from year to year, to pay the price they had promised for their lands, and persisted in keeping them; and they made nothing for the Indians unless they were paid for it.

Tom Hill had also said, that after the missionaries, "others come, settle, begin to take their lands, and finally send them off." Now—the year after the arrival of those missionaries—Mr. Spalding thought fit to send Mr. Gray to the States for the purpose of bringing from thence fifty new families of missionaries, and had it made known to the Indians. In 1839 Mr. Smith wished to cultivate the land in spite of the Indians, and because

they stopped him he went off. In 1842 Dr. Whitman started for the States, telling the Indians that he would bring back with him many people to chastise them for ill-treating him. The Indians had been waiting for his return with anxiety, fearing the execution of his threat. He came back, however, with a few people only; but in the following year more came; and next year yet more, and more and more for every following year; so that the Indians could possibly suppose that the Doctor would execute his threats and take revenge on them as soon as he thought himself strong enough.

Besides, they knew the Willamette valley well, and seeing so many Americans passing through their country every year to go thither, it was not unnatural they should put this question to themselves: If they continue for many years more to come in so great a number, where will they settle? There is not room enough in the Willamette for so many people. And the answer then was natural:—They will come here and will take our lands, as Tom Hill says they have done in the States, and as they are doing in the Willamette, and will drive us out of the country. And then that conclusion suggested to them by Tom Hill found naturally its place: that the missionaries were among them only to prepare the way for other Americans, and that they had better not keep Mr. Spalding nor any other American missionary among themselves.

V. The spreading of small pox by Americans among the Blackfeet Indians, in connection with the measles among the Cayuses, and the imprudent use of poison at Dr. Whitman's establishment, and his profession as a physician.

The Cayuses and the Nez Perces, as stated by Mr. Craig, knew that the small-pox had been brought and spread among the Blackfeet Indians by Americans, and seeing a great similarity between the effects of the measles among themselves and of the small-pox among the Blackfeet, they could be induced very easily to believe that the Americans had brought them the same sickness with the intention of killing them as they had done with the Blackfeet. Moreover Doctor Whitman was in the habit of using poison to kill wolves. The In-

dians knew it; and three of them had been very near losing their lives by eating of the meat that he had poisoned. The Indians knew then that he had the power of poisoning them whenever he wished; and, with Indians, from the power to the act, there is but very little distance.

It is certain also that the Doctor, or those about him, had poisoned melons for the purpose of making the Indians sick. The Indians knew it, and had been long complaining of it. Going farther they took occasion from that circumstance for accusing the Doctor of having poisoned other food that he gave them to eat; and it was a general report among them that very often they experienced vomitings and colics after eating the Doctor's aliments, and they went so far as to designate a good many among themselves who have been taken sick in this manner. The Doctor was also in the habit of trusting poison to all persons in his service indiscriminately. Who then could say that he had not trusted poison to some person unworthy of his confidence, who, without his knowledge and against his will, might have used it against the Indians?

And finally, Dr. Whitman was a physician, and every one knows the prejudice of the Indians against any kind of what they call "medicine men," to whom they impute the power of killing or healing as they choose, the persons they attend, and whom they are in the habit of killing as murderers, when their patient dies.

VI. Lack of sincerity and faithfulness to their word and promise, violence of character and imprudent expressions, together with an excessive seeking for temporal welfare in some of the missionaries.

We have seen that they had promised to pay the Indians for their lands and to give them a great many things which they never gave.

Mr. Spalding, writing to the Bishop of Walla Walla some days after the massacre of Wailatpu, said: "My object in writing principally is to give information through you to the Cayuses that it is our wish to have peace, that we do not wish Americans to come from below to avenge the wrong; we hope the Cayuses and Americans will be on friendly terms, that Americans will



no more come to this country, unless they wish it. As soon as these men return, I hope, if alive, to send them to the Governor, to prevent Americans coming up to molest the Cayuses for what is done. . . . The Nez Perces pledged to protect us from the Cayuses if we would prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the murders. This we have pledged to do, and for this we beg for the sake of our lives at this place and Mr. Walker's. By all means keep quiet, send no war reports, send nothing but proposals of peace. They say they have buried the death of the Walla Walla chief's son killed in California. They wish us to bury this offence." And in the *Oregon American* he says: "The object of the letter was solely to gain time for the H. B. Company to reach Walla Walla and secure our deliverance before the Indians should discover any movement on the part of the Americans." And, as if to prove it, he had hardly escaped from the hands of the Indians, when on his way going down to the Willamette, in company with the other captives after their deliverance, passing at the Dalles, he tried all he could to induce the troops that were stationed there to go up immediately to the Cayuses and kill them all with the exception of only five or six whom he commended to their clemency, as the following letter partly proves:—

" OREGON CITY, Aug. 18th, 1848.

" Hon. P. H. Burnett:

" Dear Sir,—In answer to your polite note I can only say that I did not charge my mind particularly with Rev. Mr. Spalding's statements, consequently cannot give you his precise language. I recollect distinctly, however, that he was not in favor of killing all the Cayuses; for he gave me names of some four or five that he knew to be friendly, and another whom I marked as questionable; the balance, if I am not very much mistaken, he would have share one fate. . . . .

" I am, Sir, with respect, yours,

(Signed)

" J. MAGONE."

Mr. Spalding intended then to deceive the Indians with the letter that he wrote to the Bishop, and had no in-



tention of keeping his promises to them. And the Indians knew him so well in that respect that when they heard his letter read at the Catholic mission, they said without hesitation that Mr. Spalding was speaking well because he was in a *hole*. Now, it is known by every one that nothing is so apt to destroy the confidence and excite the bad feelings of Indians towards any body as lack of sincerity and faithfulness.

As to the violence of character and imprudent expressions, I heard Dr. Whitman say at Fort Walla Walla, in the fall of 1847, that he had very much scolded the Indians of the Dalles, who had robbed the emigrants, and that he had told them: "Since you are so wicked, such robbers, we shall call for troops to chastise you; and next fall we will see here five hundred dragoons who will take care of you." We have seen moreover in Mr. Toupin's statement the ignominious treatment to which the Doctor exposed himself by that hardness and violence of character, and Mr. Gervais told us what the consequences were for Mr. Spalding through his quickness of temper.

As for the excessive seeking for temporal welfare, Mr. Joel Palmer, then Indian Agent, said in my presence at Walla Walla, during the winter of 1848, that in his opinion the application of the missionaries to get excessive riches had been a great obstacle to the prosperity of the missions; that it absorbed too much of their attention and excited against them the jealousy of the Indians; that his opinion was that the government ought to prohibit them from getting more than a certain amount of revenue as considered necessary for their habitual subsistence.

Such had been—upon the Indians—the unfavorable effect of the facts and circumstances which I have just given above as the remote causes of the massacre, that a great part of the volunteers of 1848, and also of the population of the Willamette, came to the general conclusion that the missions were prejudicial to the Indians, made them worse, and had better be abandoned. When they came to this conclusion, however, they could speak of the Protestant missions only, because they had then no opportunity of knowing what the Catholic missions

were, and what effects they produced among the Indians—the Flat Head missions being so far off that very few Protestants knew anything of their management.

VII. The ultimate causes and the only immediate ones were the ravages of the measles and dysentery, together with the tales of Lewis.

The causes that I have enumerated above, must be considered as so many remote and indirect ones, which had been preparing for a long time the way for the awful deed; but as to immediate causes every sensible person will find it in the ravages of the measles and dysentery, which had terrified the Indians, and in the tales that Jo. Lewis spread among them, and which agreed so perfectly with the long prejudices and suspicions of the Indians, and with the tales that had been spread before by Tom Hill. As an evident proof of that I refer to Mr. Craig's statement which we have seen above, and as a second and yet stronger proof I introduce the language of Mr. Spalding himself.

"It was most distressing," says Mr. Spaulding in his 'History,' "to go into a lodge of some ten fires and count twenty or twenty-five, some in the midst of measles, others in the last stage of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no suitable means to alleviate their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of two sick ones. They were dying every day, one, two, and sometimes five in a day, with the dysentery, which very generally followed the measles. Everywhere the sick and dying were pointed to Jesus, and the well were urged to prepare for death.

Indeed there was enough there to alarm Indians and to excite them to excesses, if anybody knew how to take advantage of those circumstances: and that man was found in Jo. Lewis. Appearing full of solicitude for the welfare of the Indians, he went to them and told them that he was himself an Indian the same as they were, belonging to the Chinook tribe; "that formerly," as Mr. Spalding continues to relate in his 'History,' "the Americans by ships brought poison to the lower country with a view to destroy all the Indians. Vast multitudes were destroyed, as their old men very well recollect—

referring, doubtless, to small-pox and measles, which raged throughout the Territory some thirty-five or forty years ago.\* He, being a small child, was reserved by the Americans, taken to the States, where he had grown up, ever mindful of his native country, and anxious to return to his own people. He told the Indians that he took particular notice of the letters of Dr. Whitman and myself from this country; told them that some of these letters spoke of this vast country as every way desirable for settlement—its healthy climate, its rich soil, the bands of horses, &c. Some of these letters called for poisons by which we could sweep off the Indians and make way for the Americans. In accordance with this request, he said, several bottles of poison had been brought over by the last emigration which had caused many deaths among the immigrants, and was the cause of the sore sickness and frequent deaths among the Indians, and would soon kill them all if the Doctor and Mrs. Whitman and myself were not removed. This I received from Stikas in his lodge twenty-four hours after the butchery had taken place. It seems that immediately on my arrival Lewis set himself to excite the Indians to do the dreadful deed. He told them that he overheard Dr. Whitman and myself consulting at night as to the most effectual way to kill off the Indians."

"Such statements," Mr. Spalding continues, "following like statements which have been sounding in the ears of the Indians for years, and made with so much apparent solicitude for them, and at the time of great excitement among the Indians on account of the measles, had doubtless much to do in bringing about the bloody tragedy." And for my part I do not hesitate to affirm that any sensible and unprejudiced person will conclude that there, and there only, lies the immediate cause of the murders, and that such were the true and only motives that induced the Indians to perpetrate the horrible crime. All efforts to prove the contrary would prove nothing but the injustice and blind prejudice of their authors.

\*It was in the year 1830 that entire villages were swept away by sickness.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Journal of the Principal Events that occurred in the Walla Walla Country, from the arrival of the Bishop and his Clergy until the moment they left that Country for the Willamette Settlements.*

It was on the 5th of September, 1847, that the Right Rev. Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet arrived at Fort Walla Walla, where he was cordially received by Mr. McBean, Clerk in charge of the Fort. He was accompanied by the Superior of the Oblats and two other clergymen. He had the intention of remaining but a few days at the Fort, for he knew that Towatowe, (or Young Chief,) one of the Cayuse chiefs, had a house which he had destined for the use of the Catholic missionaries, and he intended to go and occupy it without delay; but the absence of the Young Chief, who was hunting buffalo, created a difficulty in regard to the occupation of the house, and in consequence he had to wait longer than he wished.

On the 23d of September, Dr. Whitman, on his way from the Dalles, stopped at Fort Walla Walla. His countenance bore sufficient testimony of the agitation of his heart. He soon showed by his words that he was deeply wounded by the arrival of the Bishop. "I know very well," said he, "for what purpose you have come." "All is known," replied the Bishop, "I come to labor for the conversion of the Indians, and even of Americans, if they are willing to listen to me." The Doctor then continued in the same tone to speak of many things. He attributed the coming of the Bishop to the Young Chief's influence—made a furious charge against the Catholics, accusing them of having persecuted Protestants and of even having shed their blood wherever they had prevailed: He said he did not like Catholics. . . . that he should oppose the missionaries to the extent of his power. . . . He spoke against the *Catholic Ladder* \* and said that he would cover it with blood, to show the persecution of Protestants by Catholics. He refused to

\*A picture explaining the principal points of Catholic faith.



sell provisions to the Bishop, and protested that he would not assist the missionaries unless he saw them in starvation.

After such a manifestation of sentiment towards Catholics in general and priests in particular, the Bishop was not astonished at hearing some hours after that Dr. Whitman on leaving the Fort went to the lodge of Piopiomoxmox (or Yellow Serpent); that he had spoken a great deal against the Priests; that he had wished to prevail upon this chief to co-operate with him, in order that by the aid of his influence with the Cayuses, De Shutes and Dalles Indians, he might be enabled to excite these nations against them, etc.

The clergymen who had remained behind with the wagons and effects of the mission, arrived at Fort Walla Walla on the 4th of October.

During the months of October and November the Dr. came to the Fort several times to render his professional services to Mrs. Maxwell and Mr. Thos. McKay; he was a little more reserved than at the first interview, but it was always visible enough that the sight of the clergy was far from being agreeable to him.

On the 26th of October Young Chief came to the Fort, and the Bishop asked him if he was disposed to receive a priest for him and his young men; telling him that he could only give one for the whole nation, and if the Cayuses wished to avail themselves of his services, they would do well to come to an understanding together concerning the location of the mission. The Young Chief replied that he would receive a priest with pleasure; that he had long desired one, and that he could take his house and as much land as he wanted; but as a means of re-uniting the Cayuses, who had been heretofore divided, and in order to facilitate their religious instruction, he suggested the idea of establishing the mission near Dr. Whitman's, at the Camp of Tilokaikt, saying that there was more land there than near his house, and that it was more central; that, by his wife, he had a right to the land of Tilokaikt, and that he was disposed to give it to the mission, if Tilokaikt was willing; that he would go and live there himself with his young men, if the mission could be established there; but that



in case this could not be done, his house was at the service of the priest at any time he pleased.

On the 29th of October the Bishop, agreeably to the words of the Young Chief, informed Tilokaikt that he wished to see him; and, on the 4th of November, Tilokaikt, Camaspelo, and Tomsakay, with many other Indians, were at the Fort. The meeting took place after supper; it was done publicly and in the presence of Mr. Thomas McKay and all the persons at the Fort who chose to witness it.

Tomsakay spoke first, Camaspelo next, and then Tilokaikt taking the floor, put many questions to the Bishop: asking him whether it was the Pope who had sent him to ask for land for the mission—how the priests lived in the country—who maintained them—whether the priests would make presents to the Indians—whether they would cause their land to be ploughed—whether they would aid them in building houses—whether they would feed and clothe their children, &c. &c. The Bishop replied that it was the Pope who had sent him; that he had not sent him to take their land, but only for the purpose of saving their souls; that however, having to live, and possessing no wealth, he had asked of them a piece of land that he could cultivate for his support; that in his country it was the Faithful who maintained the priests, but that here he did not ask so much, but only a piece of land, and that the priests themselves would do the rest. He told them that he would not make presents to Indians, that he would give them nothing for the land he asked; that in case they worked for him, he would pay them for their work and no more; that he would assist them neither in ploughing their lands nor in building houses, nor would he feed or clothe their children, &c. The Bishop then closed, the young men retired, and Tilokaikt concluded the meeting by saying that he would not go against the words of the Young Chief, and requested the Bishop to send immediately some person to visit his land and select a place for a mission.\*

On the 8th of November I went by order of the Bishop

For further particulars of the meeting, see Mr. Thomas McKay's statement,

to Wailatpu to look at the land which Tilokaikt had offered; but he had changed his mind and refused to show it to me, saying that it was too small. He told me that he had no other place to give me but that of Dr. Whitman, whom he intended to send away. I declared to him a second time, the same as the Bishop had done at the meeting, that I would not have the place of Dr. Whitman. I then went immediately to the camp of Young Chief, to notify him that I would take his house, since I was unable to procure a place from Tilokaikt.

I returned to the Fort on the 10th, and on the 11th Rev. Mr. Rousseau left with his men to repair the house, and having come back on the 26th, announcing that the house was in a condition to be occupied, it was immediately decided that we should go and take our lodging in it the next day. The same day we received, at the Fort, a visit from Mr. Spalding, the Presbyterian missionary of the Nez Perces, whom we acquainted, during the conversation, with our intention of leaving the next day for our mission on the Umatilla river.

The next day, November 27th, we took our leave of Mr. McBean and his family to go to the Umatilla, where we (the Bishop, his Secretary and myself) arrived towards evening. Rev. Mr. Rousseau remained behind with the wagons and baggage, and did not arrive until some days after.

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The following is the substance of a letter which I addressed to Col. Gilliam, containing a relation of the events which immediately followed our arrival:—

FORT WALLA WALLA, March 2, 1848.

COL. GILLIAM:—

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to reply to the request which you have been pleased to make me lately. It affords me great satisfaction to be able to oblige you by giving you a detailed account of the facts relative to the terrible event of the 29th November, 1847, which happened within my knowledge.

You know, sir, that eight Catholic missionaries, at the

head of whom was the Bishop, A. M. A. Blanchet, arrived at Fort Walla Walla at the beginning of last autumn, with the intention of devoting themselves to the instruction of the various tribes of Indians in this part of Oregon. Some were located north of the Columbia, and it was decided that the others should pass the winter with the Cayuses at the camp of Young Chief, because this chief had not ceased for several years to ask for priests, and had offered his house for their accommodation. But, when we arrived at the Fort, he was away on a hunting expedition, from which he did not return till late in the fall, and for that reason the commencement of our mission was retarded until the 27th of November.

During our stay at the Fort we saw Dr. Whitman several times, and though at first he seemed violently opposed to us, telling the Bishop frankly that he would do all he could against him, yet upon further acquaintance he seemed to regard us with a more favorable eye, and when the care of the Cayuse mission was given to me by the Bishop, I indulged the hope of being able to live upon good terms with the Doctor.

The day before our departure from the Fort for the Umatilla, we dined with Mr. Spalding and Mr. Rodgers, and I assure you that it was a satisfaction to me to make the acquaintance of those gentlemen. I then indulged the hope more strongly than ever of living in peace with them all, which was in perfect accordance with my natural feelings; for those who are acquainted with me know that I have nothing more at heart than to live in peace with all men, and that, exempt from prejudices, I am disposed to look with an equal eye upon the members of all religious denominations, to do all I can for the good of all without regard to the name by which they may be called.

On Saturday, November 27th, I left the Fort in company with the Bishop and his Secretary for our mission on the Umatilla, twenty-five miles from Dr. Whitman's. We had scarcely arrived in the evening, when, on going to see a sick person, I learned that Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding were *en route* for my mission, Dr. Whitman having been called to attend to the sick

The next day, being Sunday, we were visited by Dr. Whitman, who remained but a few minutes at the house, and appeared to be much agitated. Being invited to dine, he refused, saying that he feared it would be too late, as he had twenty-five miles to go, and wished to reach home before night. On parting he entreated me not to fail to visit him when I would pass by his mission, which I very cordially promised to do.

On Monday, 29th, Mr. Spalding took supper with us, and appeared quite gay. During the conversation he happened to say that the Doctor was unquiet, that the Indians were displeased with him on account of the sickness, and that even he had been informed that the *murderer* (an Indian) intended to kill him; but he seemed not to believe this, and suspected as little as we did what was taking place at the mission of the Doctor.

Before leaving Fort Walla Walla it had been decided that after visiting the sick people of my mission on the Umatilla, I should go and visit those of Tilokaikt's camp for the purpose of baptising the infants and such dying adults as might desire this favor; and the Doctor and Mr. Spalding having informed me that there were still many sick persons at their missions, I was confirmed in this resolution, and made preparations to go as soon as possible.

After having finished baptising the infants and dying adults of my mission, I left on Tuesday, the 30th of November, late in the afternoon, for Tilokaikt's camp, where I arrived between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. It is impossible to conceive my surprise and consternation when, upon my arrival, I learned that the Indians the day before had massacred the Doctor and his wife, with the greater part of the Americans at the mission. I passed the night without scarcely closing my eyes. Early the next morning I baptised three sick children, two of whom died soon after, and then hastened to the scene of death to offer to the widows and orphans all the assistance in my power. I found five or six women and over thirty children in a condition deplorable beyond description. Some had just lost their husbands, and the others their fathers, whom they had seen massacred before their eyes, and were expecting

every moment to share the same fate. The sight of those persons caused me to shed tears, which, however, I was obliged to conceal, for I was the greater part of the day in the presence of the murderers, and closely watched by them, and if I had shown too marked an interest in behalf of the sufferers, it would only have endangered their lives and mine; these therefore entreated me to be upon my guard. After the first few words that could be exchanged under such circumstances, I inquired after the victims, and was told that they were yet unburied. Joseph Stanfield, a Frenchman, who was in the service of Dr. Whitman, and had been spared by the Indians, was engaged in washing the corpses, but being alone he was unable to bury them. I resolved to go and assist him, so as to render to those unfortunate victims the last service in my power to offer them. What a sight did I then behold! Ten dead bodies lying here and there, covered with blood and bearing the marks of the most atrocious cruelty,—some pierced with balls, others more or less gashed by the hatchet. Dr. Whitman had received three gashes on the face. Three others had their skulls crushed so that their brains were oozing out.

It was on the 29th of November, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, while all the people at the Doctor's house were busy, that the Indians with their arms concealed beneath their blankets, introduced themselves successively into the yard, and in an instant executed their horrible butchery. Three or four men (Americans) only were able to escape.

The ravages which sickness had made in their midst, together with the conviction which a half-breed, named Jo. Lewis, had succeeded in fixing upon their minds that Dr. Whitman had poisoned them, were the only motives I could discover which could have prompted them to this act of murder. This half breed had imagined a conversation between Dr. Whitman, his wife, and Mr. Spalding in which he made them say that it was necessary to hasten the death of the Indians in order to get possession of their horses and lands. 'If you do not kill the Doctor,' said he, 'you will all be dead in the spring.'



I assure you, Sir, that during the time I was occupied in burying the victims of this disaster, I was far from feeling safe, being obliged to go here and there gathering up the dead bodies, in the midst of assassins, whose hands were still stained with blood, and who by their manners, their countenances, and the arms which they still carried, sufficiently announced that their thirst for blood was yet unsatiated. Assuming as composed a manner as possible, I cast more than one glance behind at the knives, pistols, and guns, in order to assure myself whether there were not some of them directed towards me.

The bodies were all deposited in a common grave, which had been dug the day previous by Joseph Stanfield; and before leaving I saw that they were covered with earth. But I have since learned that the grave not having been soon enough enclosed, had been molested by the wolves, and that some of the corpses had been devoured by them.

“Having buried the dead, I hastened to prepare for my return to my mission, in order to acquaint Mr. Spalding with the danger which threatened him; because on Monday evening, when he supped with us, he had said that it was his intention to return to Dr. Whitman's on the following Wednesday or Thursday; and I wished to meet him in time to give him a chance to escape. This I repeated several times to the unfortunate widows of the slain, and expressed to them my desire of being able to save Mr. Spalding. Before leaving the women and children I spoke to the son of Tilokaikt, who seemed to be acting in the place of his father, asking him to promise me that they should not be molested, and that he would take care of them. ‘Say to them,’ said he, ‘that they need fear nothing, they shall be taken care of, and well treated. I then left them, after saying what I could to encourage them. although I was not myself entirely exempt from fear upon their account.

“On leaving the Doctor's house, I perceived that the son of Tilokaikt followed me in company with my interpreter, who himself was an Indian, his friend and his relative by his wife. I did not think that he had the Intention of coming far with us; I believed that he was

merely coming to the river to point out some new place for crossing, and that he would afterwards return. But when, after having crossed the river, he still continued going on with us, I began strongly to fear for Mr. Spalding. I knew that the Indians were angry with all Americans, and more enraged against Mr. Spalding than any other. But what could I do in such a circumstance? I saw no remedy; I could not tell the Indian to go back, because he would have suspected something, and it would have been worse; I could not start ahead of him, because he had a much better horse than mine: I resolved then to leave all in the hands of Providence. Fortunately, a few minutes after crossing the river the interpreter asked Tilokaikt's son for a smoke. They prepared the calumet, but when the moment came for lighting it, there was nothing to make fire. 'You have a pistol,' said the interpreter, 'fire it and we will light.' Accordingly, without stopping, he fired his pistol, reloaded it and fired it again. He then commenced smoking with the interpreter without thinking of reloading his pistol. A few minutes after, while they were thus engaged in smoking, I saw Mr. Spalding come galloping towards me. In a moment he was at my side, taking me by the hand, and asking for news. 'Have you been to the Doctor's?' he inquired. 'Yes,' I replied. 'What news,' 'Sad news?' 'Is any person dead?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'Who is dead, is it one of the Doctor's children?' (He had left two of them very sick.) 'No,' I replied. 'Who then is dead?' I hesitated to tell him. 'Wait a moment,' said I, 'I cannot tell you now.' While Mr. Spalding was asking me those different questions, I had spoken to my interpreter, telling him to entreat the Indian in my name, not to kill Mr. Spalding, which I begged of him as a special favor, and hoped that he would not refuse it to me. I was waiting for his answer, and did not wish to relate the disaster to Mr. Spalding before getting it, for fear that he might by his manner discover to the Indian what I had told him; for the least motion like flight would have cost him his life and probably exposed mine also. The son of Tilokaikt, after hesitating some moments, replied that he could not take it upon himself to save Mr. Spalding, but that he

would go back and consult the other Indians; and so he started back immediately to his camp. I then availed myself of his absence to satisfy the anxiety of Mr. Spalding. I related to him what had passed. 'The Doctor is dead,' said I, 'the Indians have killed him, together with his wife and eight other Americans, on Monday last, the 29th, and I have buried them before leaving to-day.' 'The Indians have killed the Doctor!' cried Mr. Spalding; . . . they will kill me also, if I go to the camp! 'I fear it very much,' said I. 'What then shall I do?' 'I know not; I have told you what has happened, decide now for yourself what you had best do; I have no advice to give you in regard to that.' 'Why has that Indian started back?' he inquired. 'I begged him to spare your life,' said I, 'and he answered me that he could not take it upon himself to do so, but that he would go and take the advice of the other Indians about it; that is the reason why he started back. Mr. Spalding seemed frightened and discouraged. 'Is it possible! Is it possible!' he repeated several times; 'they will certainly kill me; and he was unable to come to any decision. But what could have prompted the Indians to this?' he inquired. 'I know not,' said I, 'but be quick to take a decision, you have no time to lose. If the Indians should resolve not to spare your life, they will be here very soon, as we are only about three miles from their camp.' 'But where shall I go?' 'I know not, you know the country better than I; all that I know is that the Indians say the order to kill Americans has been sent in all directions. Mr. Spalding then resolved to fly. He asked me if I was willing to take charge of some loose horses that he was driving before him. I told him that I could not for fear of becoming suspicious to the Indians. I told him, however, that if the interpreter was willing to take them under his charge at his own risk, he was perfectly at liberty to do so. To this the interpreter agreed. I gave Mr. Spalding what provisions I had left, and hastened to take leave of him, wishing him with all my heart a happy escape, and promising to pray for him. In quitting him I was so much terrified at the thought of the danger with which he was threatened, that I trembled in every limb, and could scarcely

hold myself upon my horse. I left him with my interpreter, to whom he again put many questions, and who pointed out to him a by-road which he would be able to follow with most safety. I thought he advised him to go to the Dalles, but I am not certain. Mr. Spalding still continuing to ask new questions, and hesitating to leave, the interpreter advised him to hasten his flight, and he had left him a moment before he had decided to quit the road. The interpreter had not left Mr. Spalding more than twenty minutes when he saw three armed Cayuses riding hastily towards him, who were in pursuit of Mr. Spalding. Upon coming up to the interpreter they seemed much displeased that I had warned Mr. Spalding of their intentions, and thereby furnished him with an opportunity to escape. 'The priest ought to have attended to his own business and not to have interfered with ours,' they said in an angry tone, and started immediately in pursuit of him. And they must have inevitably overtaken him had not the approaching darkness of the night and a heavy fog that happened to fall down prevented them from discovering his trail, and forced them to return.

I had continued my route quite slowly, so that it was dark when I reached the Spring on Marron's Fork. I dismounted for a moment to drink, and on mounting my horse was somewhat alarmed to hear a horseman coming at full speed in our rear. I called to the interpreter and told him to speak and inform him who we were. The Indian recognised the name of the interpreter, and approached him and spoke amicably to him, and fired off his pistol. It was the son of Tilokaikt, the same who had returned to camp to consult the Indians about the fate of Mr. Spalding. He continued to accompany us until we reached the camp of Camaspelo, on the Umatilla river, and there I learned from the interpreter that he had come to inform Camaspelo of the horrible event.

After six days of danger, privations and fatigue, Mr. Spalding was enabled to reach his family at his mission amongst the Nez Perces, as you have seen from his letter to the Bishop of Walla Walla, since published in the *Oregon Spectator*. I was truly happy to learn that Mr. Spalding was out of danger, and I thanked God sincerely

for having made me instrumental in saving the life of a fellow-creature at the peril of my own.

Some days after an express reached us from the Fort, informing us that our lives were in danger from a portion of the Indians who could not pardon me for having deprived them of their victim; and this was the only reason which prevented me from fulfilling the promise which I had made to the widows and orphans of returning to see them, and obliged me to be contented with sending my interpreter.

You are acquainted, Sir, with the events which followed,—the murder of two sick men, who were brutally torn from their beds and their throats cut; the murder of the young American when returning from the mill; the good fortune of the other Americans at the mill, who owed their escape to a single Indian, (Tintinmitsi,) while the others wished to kill them; the violation of three young girls; the letter of Mr. Spalding, which occasioned the assembling of the chiefs at the Catholic mission, and their asking for peace; the arrival of Mr. Ogden and the delivery of the captives.

Such are, Sir, the facts and circumstances relative to this deplorable event, the relation of which I thought would be of a nature to interest you. I am pleased with the confidence you have shown me by asking this relation at my hands, and thank you sincerely for the same. I thank you more especially for the opportunity you have given me of presenting to you a full and candid exposition of my conduct and intentions in the circumstances so dangerous and so delicate in which I accidentally found myself involved.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and respect,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most ob't humble ser't,

J. B. A. BROUILLET, Priest,

Vicar-General of Walla Walla.

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I arrived at the mission on Thursday morning, 2d of



December, and announced to the inmates the frightful tidings which were yet unknown to them.

On the 3d the Bishop called for the Young Chief and his brother, Five Crows, in order to express to them how deeply he had been pained by the news of the horrible affair at Wailatpu, and to recommend to their care the widows and orphans, as well as the men, who had survived the massacre. They protested they gave no consent to what had happened at Wailatpu, and promised to do all in their power for the survivors.

Some days after we learned that a young man, who had been engaged working at a saw-mill some twenty miles from the establishment of the Doctor, with some other Americans, had been killed on his return from the mill to the Doctor's, and that the Indians intended to kill the others.

On the 10th we received the painful intelligence that two other young men, who, being sick, had been spared by the Indians at the time of the first massacre, had since been torn from their bed and cruelly butchered. We learned at the same time that the other men belonging to the mill had been spared and brought to the Doctor's for the purpose of taking care of the women and children.

On the 11th of December we had the affliction to hear that one of the captives had been carried off from the Doctor's house by the order of Five Crows, and brought to him; and we learned, that two others had been violated at the Doctor's house.

On the 16th two Nez Perce chiefs (Inimilpip and Tip-ialanahkeikt) brought us the following letter\* from Mr. Spalding:—

CLEAR WATER, Dec. 10th, 1847.

To the Bishop of Walla Walla or either of the Catholic priests:

Réverend and dear friend,—

This hasty note may inform you that I am yet alive through the astonishing mercy of God. The hand of

\*We had reason to be astonished at that confidence of those Indians, as we had had as yet no opportunity of seeing any one of the Nez Perces since our arrival in the country.

the merciful God brought me to my family after six days and nights from the time my dear friend† furnished me with provisions, and I escaped from the Indians. My daughter is yet a captive, I fear, but in the hands of our merciful heavenly father. Two Indians have gone for her. My object in writing is principally to give information through you to the Cayuses that it is our wish to have peace; that we do not wish the Americans to come from below to avenge the wrong; we hope the Cayuses and the Americans will be on friendly terms; that Americans will no more come in their country unless they wish it. As soon as these men return, I hope, if alive, to send them to the Governor to prevent Americans from coming up to molest the Cayuses for what is done. I know that you will do all in your power for the relief of the captives, women and children, at Wailatpu; you will spare no pains to appease and quiet the Indians. There are five Americans here, my wife and three children, one young woman, and two Frenchmen. We cannot leave the country without help. Our help under God is in your hands and in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. Can help come from that source? Ask their advice and let me know. I am certain that if the Americans should attempt to come it would be likely to prove the ruin of us all in this upper country, and would involve the country in war: God grant that they may not attempt it. At this moment I have obtained permission of the Indians to write more, but I have but a moment. Please send this or copy to Governor Abernethy. The Nez Perces held a meeting yesterday; they pledged themselves to protect us from the Cayuses if they would prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the murders. This we have pledged to do, and for this we beg for the sake of our lives at this place and at Mr. Walker's. By all means keep quiet and send no war reports, send nothing but proposals for peace. They say they have buried the death of the Walla Walla chief's son, killed in California. They wish us to bury this offence. I hope to write soon to Gov. Abernethy, but as yet the Indians are not willing, but are willing that I

†My dear friend, because he was yet in the *hole*, as the Indians said.

should send those hints through you. I hope you will send by all means and with all speed, to keep quiet in the Willamette. Could Mr. Grant come this way, it would be a great favor to us and do good to the Indians.

I just learn that these Indians wish us to remain in the country as hostages of peace. They wish the communication for Americans to be kept open. We are willing to remain so if peace can be secured. It does not seem safe for us to attempt to leave the country in any way at present. May the God of heaven protect us and finally bring peace. These two men go to make peace, and when they return, if successful with the Cayuses, they will go to the Willamette. We have learned that one man escaped to Walla Walla, crossed over the river, and went below. He would naturally suppose that all were killed. Besides myself, another white man escaped wounded and reached my place three days before I did.

Late Indian reports say that no women except Mrs. Whitman, or children, were killed, but all are in captivity. These people, if the Cayuses consent, will bring them all to this place.

I traveled only nights and hid myself days, most of the way on foot, as my horse escaped from me; suffered some days from hunger and cold and sore feet; had no shoes, as I threw my boots away, not being able to wear them, and also left blankets. God in mercy brought me here. From the white man who escaped, and from the Indians, we learn that an Indian from the States, who was in the employ of Dr. Whitman, was at the head of the bloody affair, and helped demolish the windows and take the property. We think the Cayuses have been urged into the dreadful deed. God in his mercy forgive them, for they know not what they do. Perhaps these men can bring my horses and things. Please give all particulars you have been able to learn, and what news has gone below. How do the women and children fare? How extensive is the war? In giving this information and sending this letter below to Governor Abernethy, you will oblige your afflicted friend. I would write di-

rectly to the Governor, but the Indians wish me to rest till they return.

Yours in affection and with best wishes,

(Signed)

H. H. SPALDING.

The two Nez Perce chiefs advised the Cayuses to take measures for avoiding a war with the Americans. They requested the Bishop to write to Gov. Abernethy, begging him not to send up an army, but rather to come himself in the spring and make a treaty of peace with the Cayuses, who promised that they would then release the captives of Wailatpu,—promising besides to offer no injury to Americans until they heard the news from the Willamette. The Bishop told them he was glad of their proceeding, and was disposed to assist them to the extent of his power, but that he could not write without knowing the opinion of the Cayuses, and that as soon as he could learn this he would send an express below. He then encouraged them to see all the chiefs about it.

On the 18th of December Camaspelo came to see the Bishop, and told him that he had disapproved of all that had happened at Wailatpu,—that the young men had stolen his word. He seemed discouraged, and spoke of killing all the horses and of leaving the country, as all the Indians expected to do. The Bishop succeeded in raising his spirits a little by representing to him the possibility of yet obtaining peace, and told him that the chiefs ought to meet as soon as possible, in order to come to an understanding among themselves as to what was best to do in this matter; that the more they delayed, the more difficult the arrangement of affairs would become.

The 20th being fixed upon as the day of the meeting, Camaspelo retired with apparently increased courage, promising to notify the other chiefs and secure their attendance. Accordingly on Monday, 20th December, at the Catholic mission, the Cayuses assembled in Grand Council, held by Tawatoe, (or Young Chief,) Tilokaikt, Achekaia, (or Five Crows,) and Camaspelo, all the great chiefs of the Cayuses, in presence of many other great men (second chiefs) of the nation. About 10 o'clock in the morning they all entered the mission house. Tho

Bishop was present, together with Messrs. Rousseau, Leclair and myself.

After a deep silence of some minutes the Bishop explained to them the object of the meeting. He began by expressing to them the pleasure he felt in seeing them thus assembled for the purpose of deliberating on a most important subject—that of avoiding war, which is always a great evil. He told them that in matters of importance they should always hold a council and consult those who might be best able to give them good advice; that in giving their advice separately, they were liable to be misunderstood, and thereby expose themselves and their people to great misfortunes; and he was persuaded that if the chiefs had deliberated together they would not now have to deplore the horrible massacre of Wai-latpu, nor to fear its probable consequences. He told them that two Nez Perce chiefs had asked him to write to the Great Chief of the Willamette to obtain peace, but that he could not do so without the consent of the Cayuses; that the propositions which those chiefs wished to send were these:—1st. That Americans should not come to make war; 2d. That they should send up two or three great men to make a treaty of peace; 3d. That when these great men should arrive all the captives should be released; 4th. That they would offer no offence to Americans before knowing the news from below.

The Bishop then desired them to speak and to say what they thought of these propositions.

Camaspelo spoke first. He was blind and ignorant, and had despaired of the life and salvation of his nation, but the words of the Bishop had opened his eyes, consoled and encouraged him; that he had confidence and that he approved the propositions.

Tilokaikt then rose to say that he was not a great speaker, and that his talk would not be long. He then reviewed the history of the nation since the arrival of the whites\* in the country down to the present time. He said that before they had been visited by white men the Indians were always at war; that at the place where Fort Walla Walla now stood nothing but blood was con-

\* French, or Hudson's Bay Company people.



tinually seen ; that they had been taught by the whites there was a God who forbid men to kill each other ; that since this time they had always lived in peace and endeavored to persuade others to do the same. He eulogised Mr. Pombrun, spoke of a Nez Perce chief who had been killed on his way to the States, afterwards of the son of Yellow Serpent, who had been killed by Americans in California ; said that they had forgotten all this. He spoke also of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, and finished by saying that since they had forgotten all, he hoped the Americans would also forget what had been recently done, that now they were even. He spoke nearly two hours.

Achekaia (or Five Crows) arose only to suggest some other propositions which he wished added to those already announced.

The Young Chief said but little. He said he was weak and did not feel able to talk long. He was in favor of the propositions as well as those who had spoken before him.

Edward, the son of Tilokaikt, then came forward, bearing in his hand the *Catholic Ladder* stained with blood : he repeated the words which Dr. Whitman had used when he showed it to them, one or two weeks before he died : “ *You see this blood ! it is to show you that now, because you have the priests among you, the country is going to be covered with blood ! ! You will have nothing now but blood !* ” He then related what had passed, gave a touching picture of the afflicted families in seeing borne to the grave a father, a mother, a brother, or a sister ; spoke of a single member of a family who had been left to weep alone over all the rest who had disappeared. He stated how and for what the murder had been committed, entered in the most minute details, avoiding, however, to give any knowledge of the guilty ; repeated the words which Jo Lewis said had passed between Dr. Whitman, his wife, and Mr. Spalding, and finally spoke of the pretended declaration of Mr. Rogers at the moment of his death : “ that Dr. Whitman had been poisoning the Indians.”

After having deliberated together the chiefs concluded by adding something to the propositions of the Nez Perces, insisting principally upon the reasons which they

pretended ought to excuse their action, and requested the Bishop to send to the Governor in their name the following manifesto:—

“The principal chiefs of the Cayuses in council assembled state: That a young Indian who understands English, and who slept in Dr. Whitman’s room, heard the Doctor, his wife, and Mr. Spalding, express their desire of possessing the lands and animals of the Indians; that he stated also that Mr. Spalding said to the Doctor: ‘hurry giving medicines to the Indians that they may soon die;’ that the same Indian told the Cayuses: ‘if you do not kill the Doctor soon, you will all be dead before spring;’ that they buried six Cayuses on Sunday, November 28th, and three the next day; that the schoolmaster, Mr. Rodgers, stated to them before he died, that the Doctor, his wife, and Mr. Spalding poisoned the Indians; that for several years past they had to deplore the death of their children, and that according to these reports they were led to believe that the whites had undertaken to kill them all; and that these were the motives which led them to kill the Americans.

The same chiefs ask at present—

1st. That the Americans may not go to war with the Cayuses.

2d. That they may forget the lately committed murders, as the Cayuses will forget the murder of the son of the great chief of Walla Walla, committed in California.

3d. That two or three great men may come up to conclude peace.

4th. That as soon as these great men have arrived and concluded peace, they may take with them all the women and children.

5th. They give assurance that they will not harm the Americans before the arrival of these two or three great men.

6th. They ask that Americans may not travel any more through their country, as their young men might do them harm.

Place of Tawatowe, Youmatilla,

20th December, 1847,

(Signed)

{ TILOKAIKT,  
CAMASPELO,  
TAWATOWE,  
ACHEKAIA.

The Bishop accompanied this manifesto with a letter addressed to the Governor, which concluded in these terms: "It is sufficient to state that all these speeches went to show, that since they had been instructed by the whites they abhorred war, and that the tragedy of the 29th had occurred from an anxious desire of self-preservation, and that it was the reports made against the Doctor and others which led them to commit this act. They desire to have the past forgotten and to live in peace as before. Your Excellency has to judge of the value of the documents which I have been requested to forward to you. Nevertheless, without having the least intention to influence one way or the other, I feel myself obliged to tell you, that by going to war with the Cayuses, you will likely have all the Indians of this country against you. Would it be for the interest of a young colony to expose herself? That, you will have to decide with your Council.

Before taking leave of the Chiefs, the Bishop said to them all publicly, as he had also done several times privately, that those who had taken American girls should give them up immediately. And then all entreated Five Crows to give up the one whom he had taken, but to no purpose.

Mr Ogden had arrived at Fort Walla Walla on the 19th of December, in the evening, with the intention of obtaining from the Cayuses the release of all the American prisoners. He had sent immediately an express to the Cayuses, notifying the chiefs to assemble without delay at Walla Walla. The same express had brought a letter to the Bishop requesting him to attend the assembly of the chiefs. The Bishop being unable to attend then, I went to Fort Walla Walla on the 21st, in company with an Indian chief, to meet Mr. Ogden, and to inform him of what had passed in the Council held the day before at the mission. It was the first time that any one of us had dared to leave the Young Chief's camp since the burial of the murdered, and Mr. Spalding's escape, for fear of the Indians of Tilokaikt's camp.

At the renewed request of Mr. Ogden, the Bishop came to the Fort next day, and on the 23d the assembly

convoked by Mr. Ogden took place. The Young Chief and Tilokaikt, with a dozen young men, were in the room, and at half past nine, A. M., Mr. Ogden opened the meeting. He spoke forcibly against the massacre, threw the whole blame upon the chiefs, who, he said knew not how to restrain their young men. He told them it was useless to have chiefs if they are not listened to. He made them understand that he did not come on the part of the Americans; that he had left Vancouver before they knew what had passed at Wailatu; that he knew the Cayuses, and had been known by them a long time; that the French people (Hudson's Bay Company) had never deceived them; that he hoped they would listen to his words; that the Company did not meddle with the affairs of the Americans; that there were three parties, the Americans on one side, the Cayuses on the other, and the French people and the priests in the middle; that the Company was there to trade and the priests to teach them their duties; listen to the priests, said he several times, listen to the priests, they will teach you how to lead a good life; the priests do not come to make war, they carry no arms, they carry but their crucifixes,\* and with them they cannot kill. He insisted particularly, and at several times, upon the distinction necessary to be made between the affairs of the Company and those of the Americans. He said to all the Cayuses that they had Chiefs to whom they ought to listen; that the young men were blind, and their chiefs should not allow them to do as they pleased. He told them that he had come with a charitable design; that he demanded of the chiefs that they should give up to him all the Americans who were now captives; but that they should understand well that he did not promise them that the Americans would not come to make war; he promised them only that he would speak in their favor. If they would release the captives he would give them fifty blankets, fifty shirts, ten guns, ten fathoms of tobacco, ten handkerchiefs and one hundred balls and powder.

The Young Chief thanked Mr. Ogden for the good advice he had given them and approved of what he had

The Oblats, who constantly carry a crucifix on their breast, were present.

said, but in regard to the captives he said that it belonged to Tilokaikt to speak as they were on his lands.

Tilokaikt then spoke of the harmony that had always existed between them and the French people; that the French had espoused their daughters, and that they had been buried in the same burial ground, etc. He concluded by saying that he would release the captives to Mr. Ogden, because he was old, and his hair was white, and that he had known him a long time, but that one younger than Mr. Ogden could not have had them.

The Néz Perces (or Sahaptin) came after the Cayuses and promised to release Mr. Spalding and all other American captives who were with them.

Mr. Ogden promised them twelve blankets, twelve shirts, two guns, twelve handkerchiefs, five fathoms of tobacco, two hundred balls and powder, and some knives.

The Bishop expressed to the Cayuses and Nez Perces the pleasure he felt in seeing them willing to release the captives.

They agreed upon the time when the captives should be at the Fort, and the quantity of provisions necessary.

The *Catholic Ladder*, which Dr. Whitman had stained with blood, was given to Mr. Ogden by an Indian who had it in his possession. Mr. Ogden received also at his request from another one the ridiculous *ladder*\* which Mr. Spalding had been carrying amongst the Indians in opposition to the priests.

On the 29th the captives of Wailatpu arrived at the Fort to the number of forty-six, who together with five already at the Fort made fifty-one.

The Bishop determined to avail himself of the offers of Mr. Ogden, and to descend in the boats that were to convey the captives.

January 1st, 1848, Mr. Spalding arrived at the Fort

\*A picture representing two roads towards heaven—a wide one, where the Pope is selling indulgences and forgiveness of sins, and the Catholics were seen going, and at the upper end of which they were all falling headforemost into hell, and a narrow one where the Protestants were supposed to go, but apparently so difficult to ascend that none were seen ascending it. Mr. Spalding had been carrying it among the Indians, and explaining it to them for some time.



with his family and the other captives, accompanied by fifty Nez Perces.

During the time which had passed from the assembling of the chiefs to the arrival of the captives at the Fort, Mr. Ogden had not been without inquietude. Divers rumors were in circulation among the Indians. It was said that an army had arrived at the Dalles, and they had come to avenge the murders. It was feared that these rumors might change the minds of the Indians, and cause them to retain the captives. The Indians came from time to time to ask if it was true that the Americans were at the Dalles. Mr. Ogden told them that he knew nothing about it, but that he did not believe it. Indeed, it was difficult to believe the Americans would decide to come up so soon, knowing that Mr. Ogden was in the midst of the Indians, occupied in treating for the deliverance of the captives, for it was easy to suppose that the first news of such a step would break off all negotiations and probably become the signal for the general massacre of all those unfortunate beings. It was certainly the conviction of Mr. Spalding, as expressed in his letter to the Bishop, as well as that of all the whites at Walla Walla.

As soon as Mr. Spalding had arrived, Mr. Ogden decided that the departure should take place on the following day.

The morning of the 2nd the Bishop conferred the order of priesthood upon two clergymen of the congregation of the Oblates, both destined for the Yakima Indians on the north side of the Columbia, where they had a mission already commenced, and not for the mission of the Nez Perces, as Mr. Spalding has said. At seven o'clock the ceremony was over, but in spite of all the diligence and activity of Mr. Ogden, they were unable to start before half-past twelve.

The boats had only left the Fort a few hours with all the captives, when fifty armed Cayuse warriors arrived; for the purpose, as they said, of taking and killing Mr. Spalding, as they had ascertained that American soldiers had arrived at the Dalles on their journey up.

On arriving at the Dalles, Mr. Spalding proved that the Indians had judged him pretty correctly,—when,

upon hearing his letter read, they said: "He speaks well, but it is because he is in a *hole!*"—for scarcely had he put his feet on shore when he said to Major Lee: "Hasten up with your company in order to surprise the Indians and save the animals of the mission." These words were immediately reported to the Bishop by Mr. Ogden, who heard them himself. He said still more to Major Magone; for he designated all the Cayuses as worthy of death, with the feeble exception of five or six, whose names he gave.

At noon on the 8th the boats arrived at Fort Vancouver.

On the 10th Mr. Ogden was again *en route* to conduct the captives to Oregon City, where he delivered them into the hands of Gov. Abernethy; to whom he delivered also a written account of what he had done for the deliverance of the captives, together with Mr. Spalding's letter to the Bishop, the manifesto of the Cayuse chiefs, and the Bishop's letter to the Governor that accompanied said manifesto. And as the editors of the *Oregon Spectator* wished to publish but a part of Mr. Spalding's letter, Mr. Ogden told them that they should print the whole of the letter or no part of what he had given them for that purpose; they consented reluctantly to publish the whole.

On the 15th the Bishop was at St. Paul's Mission, Willamette.

After the departure of the Bishop I had remained alone with Mr. Leclair at the mission on the Umatilla, where we continued to reside until the 20th of February, in continual anxiety, between the fear of war and the hope of peace. Indian reports of all kinds were in circulation every day, saying that there were troops already at the Dalles, that they had fought with the Indians of that country, and that they had destroyed entire villages. On the other hand, prudence and the interest of the colony seemed to us to demand that the Governor should not disregard the propositions of the Indians, but that he should enter into negotiations of peace with them. A letter from Mr. Ogden would have removed our uncertainty; for, on the delivery of the captives, he promised the Indians that he would exert

himself in their behalf to secure peace with the Americans, and that as soon as the Government had decided, whether for peace or for war, he would send them an express to Fort Walla Walla to apprise them of the result. But this express came not. The Indians began to suspect that Mr. Ogden had betrayed them. His letter, by accident, did not arrive until after the first engagement between the troops and the Cayuses. Had it arrived in time, it would probably have prevented the engagement and induced the Cayuses to accept peace upon the terms offered by the Government.

In the midst of so much uncertainty we desired to withdraw from among the Cayuses, but to do this a good reason was necessary that could satisfy the Indians, and this reason we had not. I had promised to remain with them as long as they were at peace, but had told them that I should retire as soon as war should be declared. I was obliged to keep my word with them.

However, on the 19th of February, the Cayuses having gone to meet the American troops, we had a right to consider war as inevitable, if not already declared; and from this moment my word was disengaged. We therefore made choice of the first opportunity that presented itself for retiring, and on the next day we departed for Fort Walla Walla, where we remained until the 13th of March. A few days after our departure the Cayuses burned our house and destroyed the property we had left among them.

On the 13th of March, the Commissioners appointed to treat for peace with the Indians, being about to descend to Willamette, we availed ourselves of the opportunity, and descended with them, accompanied by the missionary Oblates of Yakima river.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs having issued, on the 15th of June, an order to stop all the missionary labors among the Indians, we made no effort to re-establish our mission among the Cayuses, but deferred it until more favorable circumstances.

## CHAPTER V.

*Summary of the principal accusations made against the Catholic Clergy of Walla Walla, by Mr. Spalding and others, with an answer to each of them.*

Mr. Spalding stated in the *Oregon American* and elsewhere:

1st. That the massacre of Wailatpu had been committed by the Indians in hatred of the heretics, as Protestants only, and no Catholics, were killed, and insinuated that it had been committed at the instigation of the priests.

2nd. That the priests baptised the children and families of the murderers, and the murderers themselves immediately after the massacre, as they had their hands still dripping with the warm blood of the murdered, and so approved the massacre.

3rd. That the Bishop and the priests were going and coming through the country, and resided among the murderers unmolested and appearing to feel in safety, and gave it as a new proof that they had had a hand in the massacre.

4th. That soon after the massacre the priests were making preparations to begin new stations, and to pursue with renewed efforts those already begun; and that they had settled at Wailatpu immediately after the departure of the captives.

5th. That neither the Bishop nor any of his priests went near the captives of Wailatpu after the baptism of the murderers, and they concluded they had no compassion nor charity for them.

6th. That the Roman Catholic priests had offered a great price to Dr. Whitman for his station, but he refused to sell it: they had told him again to fix his price and they would pay it, but he had refused obstinately to sell; and they concluded the priests were determined to have it by any means.—(Mr. John Kinzay, in the *Oregon American*.)

7th. That some of the priests, who were at Walla Walla, did not offer their beds to Mr. Osborne's wife,

while she was sick ; that they gave neither blankets nor food to Mr. Osborne when he started for the purpose of looking up his family, and that they did not prevent him from starting with his family for the river (Umatilla).—(Mr. Osborne, in the *Oregon American*.)

8th. That the Bishop of Walla Walla had come with his priests into a country where there was no church or Catholic station, and no stationary priest, but that was entirely occupied by Protestant missionaries, the most of whom had worked there peaceably for eleven years.—(Mr. Spalding.)

9th. That Jo. Lewis, Joseph Stanfield, and Nicholas Finlay, who had been seen plundering, were Catholics, and from that concluded against Catholics in general.—(Mr. Spalding.)

10th. That the priests neglected to have the bodies of the victims of the massacre buried, when they had the facilities of doing so.—(Verbal reports, attributed to Mr. Spalding.)

11th. That the Bishop neglected to give to Mr. Spalding some information which he asked in regard to his daughter and the other captives.—(Mr. Spalding.)

12th. That a young American was killed at Wailatpu at 2 o'clock P. M., on Tuesday, just about the time the priest arrived, and insinuated that the priest caused him to be killed.—(Mr. Spalding.)

13th. That the priests concerted at Wailatpu with Mr. M'Bean's messengers the letter which he (Mr. M'Bean) sent to Fort Vancouver in order to deceive the public about the true causes of the murder.—(Editor of the *Oregon American*.)

14th. That the Catholic missionaries despised the authority of the Governor and of the Indian Agent, who had commanded them to leave the Indian country.—(Editor of the *Oregon American*.)

15th. That one of the priests had been met by Mr. Spalding in company with an Indian who had the avowed intention to kill him, and that the Indian, whose pistol was unloaded, retired to an unobserved place to reload it ; and insinuated that the intention of that priest was to have had him killed by that Indian.—(Mr. Spalding.)

16th. And, finally, that the priests had told the Indians



everywhere that the Protestant missionaries were causing them to die, and the Walla Walla chief in particular; that they were poisoning them; that it was the Americans who had brought the measles among them, and that God had sent that sickness among them to show His hatred against the heretics; and they pointed to that as the source from which originated the indirect causes of the massacre.—(Mr. Spalding.)

I will now proceed to rectify those statements and give a short answer to each of them:

1st. The massacre of Wailatpu has not been committed by the Indians in hatred of the heretics. If Americans only have been killed, it is because the war had been declared by the Indians against the Americans only, and not against foreigners, it was therefore in their quality of American citizens and not as Protestants that the Indians killed them: as a proof of this I state the fact that two sons of Mr. Manson, a Protestant gentleman of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, being Protestants as well as their father, were selected by the Indians from the American children and sent to Fort Walla Walla—and as a second proof I will observe that the Indians who perpetrated the massacre were all Protestants, and after the massacre remained Protestants as before, and continued to pray after the method that their Protestant missionaries had taught them, as Mr. Spalding himself affirms.\*

2nd. We never baptised any of the murderers nor their families; such an assertion has been a shameful slander brought upon us like many others. The only thing done in the matter of baptism connected with that circumstance is what follows:—As stated in my relation of the affair to Col. Gilliam, I had gone to Tilokaikt's camp, without being aware of what had passed in its vicinity, for the purpose of baptising the sick children and the dying adults whom I could dispose for baptism. On the morning I was there, when about starting to pay a visit to the widows and orphans of the mission, and to bury the corpses, I inquired after the

\*Five of those who were hung at Oregon City on the 3d of June, 1850, embraced then the Catholic faith and were baptised by the Archbishop, F. N. Blanchet, a few hours before their execution.

Indians who were dangerously sick and expected to die. None were found in the camp but three young children, whom I baptised, and two of them died soon after; two of the three were slaves, and I did not learn to whom the other child belonged. Nothing more was done.

Now, no sensible person could suspect that I intended to approve of the murderous deed by baptising those children, if they only knew what the principles and practice of the Catholic Church are in regard to baptism of infants. The Church teaches that baptism is of absolute necessity to the salvation of infants as well as of adults, and not holding children responsible for the faults of their parents or others, she commands her ministers always to baptise them, whatever may be the circumstances, in any case of necessity or danger of death. Besides, those children were not offered to me for baptism by their fathers with their hands dripping with blood, and asking for an approval of their deed, as has been said; but it was upon my own request, and repeatedly made, that their owners (two of them were slaves from other tribes) reluctantly consented to allow them to be baptised.

3d. The goings and comings of the clergy through the country never existed but in the warm imagination of Mr. Spalding; and instead of that security which he supposed we felt, some of us trembled from fear very frequently. It was three weeks after the massacre that, on the urgent request of Mr. Ogden, one of us dared for the first time, since the burial of the murdered victims, to leave the camp of the Young Chief and go to Walla Walla; and then, being the day that followed the council of the Cayuses at the Catholic mission, the Indians appeared more quieted than before by the hope of peace, which the letter of Mr. Spalding and the words of the Bishop had produced in their minds; and moreover they had promised to stop any further hostilities until the intentions of the Government were known; and besides, that Priest was accompanied by one of the chiefs, who could have protected him against any of the young men who had bad intentions. Before that time we had considered it unsafe for us to go at any distance from the Young Chief's camp, on account of the evil dispositions

of a portion of the murderers, towards us since Mr. Spalding's escape, as some of them could not forgive us for having taken their intended victim from their hands, and as a letter from Walla Walla had warned us to be on our guard on that account.

It is an error to say that the priests remained among the murderers. This they never did. The Cayuse nation was divided into three camps entirely distinct from each other, each camp having its own chief, who governed his young men as he pleased; each of the chiefs were independent of the others, and those three camps formed, as it were, three independent states of a small federal republic, each of them administering their own private affairs as they pleased, without interference from the others. They were the camps of Tilokaikt, Camas-pelo, and Young Chief and Five Crows together. But it was in Tilokaikt's camp, and by his Indians only, that Doctor Whitman had been killed: then the Indians of that camp only could be called murderers, and even but a small portion of them, since twelve or thirteen only have been designated as guilty by the army itself, when on the spot. Again, we never remained in Tilokaikt's camp, but at a distance of twenty-five miles from it, in Young Chief's camp, where some of the people were Catholics, and where nobody had taken part in the murder. Then it is evidently incorrect to say that we have remained among the murderers.

It is also incorrect to say that we have been unmolested by the Indians, since they burned our house and effects a few days after we had started from among them, and about the time the troops were coming up to their country.

4th. It is asserted that soon after the massacre the priests were making preparations to begin new stations and to pursue with renewed efforts those already begun. The proof of which undoubtedly is that the Bishop started down to the Willamette at the same time as Mr. Spalding, taking with him the Superior of the Oblate Fathers and another clergyman, and leaving me alone at the Umatilla mission with a young clergyman who was not a priest yet; and that shortly after, at the first opportunity they could get, the remainder of his clergy were following his example.

It is a great falsehood in Mr. Spalding to say that we settled at Wailatpu immediately after the departure of the captives. For the proof of what I say I refer to all the people who lived in the vicinity of Wailatpu and to the army. None of us went to Wailatpu from the time of the burial of those who were murdered down to the months of June and July, when, during a trip that I happened to make to Walla Walla, I had the pleasure of paying a visit to the officers of the army at Fort Waters, formerly Wailatpu.

5th. No priest went to Wailatpu since the day of the burial; that is true. But what was the reason of their not going? The reason was that on account of Mr. Spalding's escape they could not go without exposing themselves to a probable death, as they had been often warned by the Indians, and also by a letter from Walla Walla; and it is a new proof that the priests did not feel so safe among the murderers as Mr. Spalding supposed they did. But if they did not go, they did all they could from their mission to prevent new misfortunes from falling upon them and to ameliorate their situation. As soon as the Bishop had received the news of the massacre, he had called the chiefs of the camp where he lived and recommended to their care the survivors of Wailatpu; and after that time the captives had always abundant and good food, and if they had sometimes to suffer in some other respects, the Bishop never ceased to exert his influence and entreaties with some of the chiefs to put a stop to it. He took a great part in quieting the Indians, actively prepared them for the delivery of the captives, and heartily co-operated with Mr. Ogden in securing the same.

6th. In the supposition that we had asked Dr. Whitman to sell us his establishment, it would have proved nothing against us, because it was publicly known that he had been for years speaking of leaving the Cayuse country; "that he had held himself ready to leave the country whenever the Indians as a body wished it," as Mr. Spalding says; "that twice in the last year he called the Cayuses together and told them if a majority wished he would leave the country at once;" "that he held himself ready to sell the Wailatpu station to the Catholic

mission whenever a majority of the Cayuses might wish it;" and that "he had bought the Methodist mission at the Dalles, where he wished to go and live in the spring." Under such circumstances it would not have been unnatural to believe that he would have liked to dispose of his property the same as any other individual.

But I affirm that such a demand has never been made to Dr. Whitman by any one of us, and I give Mr. Spalding himself as a witness, when he says: "that he is not aware that the Catholic mission ever applied to Dr. Whitman to purchase the Wailatpu station." If such a proposition had ever been made to the Doctor, it was natural that he would have spoken of it to Mr. Spalding, his intimate friend, his fellow-member and associate in missionary labors during the fifteen days that he spent with him before the massacre.

7th. As to the seventh complaint brought against some priests who were present at Walla Walla when Mr. and Mrs. Osborn were there, the following statement given by Mr. Stanley, the artist, who happened to be at Walla Walla at the time, will throw some light upon the matter:

"During my stay at Walla Walla in December last," says Mr. Stanley, "I occupied a room with two or more of the Catholic priests; and their beds consisted of two blankets with a stick of wood for their pillow.

I arrived at Walla Walla the 2nd of December, and learned from Mr. McBean that Mr. Hall brought him the first intelligence of the massacre early in the morning of the 30th of November—that he was received in the Fort in Mr. McBean's private or family room . . . . . he was undecided whether to remain or proceed to Willamette; feared he would be killed if found by the Cayuses; and after consulting Mr. McBean thought he could reach the Willamette in safety on the north side of the river. He was furnished with a cappa, blanket, powder, ball, and tobacco, and Mr. McBean saw him safely across the river.

Mr. Osborn and little son arrived a few hours before me, and were received and quartered in the Fort.

Mr. McBean procured for him a trusty Walla Walla Indian to return with him for his family, but having no



horses at the post, I proffered the use of my own until he should reach the Company's farm, about twenty miles distant, where he was supplied with fresh ones. Had it not been for the guide's perseverance Mrs. Osborn and children must have perished. Mr. Osborn, despairing of finding the place where he had left them, proposed to the Indian to return. The Indian said he was told by Mr. McBean not to return without finding them, and he continued his search until he discovered their concealment.

They arrived at the Fort early in the evening of the 3d of December, and Mr. McBean said he would protect them with his life.

They were not allowed to go three days without provisions, but on the contrary were furnished *daily* with such provisions as were used by Mr. McBean and family.

Mr. McBean proffered a blanket to Mr. Osborn on his credit, and I am quite positive the article was not asked for by Mr. Osborn.

(Signed,)

J. M. STANLEY.

Oregon City, March 10th, 1848."

The priests spoken of by Mr. Stanley were Oblates, belonging to the mission of the north side of the Columbia. For their beds at the Fort, as Mr. Stanley states, they had but two blankets with a piece of wood for a pillow. For their subsistence they depended upon the Fort, where they were paying their board. It was then very difficult for them to give beds, blankets, or food, which they had not at their disposal. Besides, provisions were very scarce at the time in the Fort, and the clerk and the priests, as well as the others, were all reduced to the necessity of living upon horseflesh. If the priests did not prevent Mr. Osborn from bringing his family to the Umatilla, the reason was that they believed they would be safer under the Young Chief's protection than at the Fort, where they expected every moment to be attacked, without being prepared to oppose a sufficient resistance: there were at the Fort only five or six men at most.

8th. In regard to what has been stated that the Bishop of Walla Walla had come into a country where there was no church or Catholic station, and no stationary priests, I will observe that Fathers Blanchet and Demers, the first

Catholic missionaries that came to Oregon, had passed by Walla Walla in 1838, where they had stopped a few days, and had been visited by the Indians. In 1839 Father Demers had spent three weeks in teaching the Indians and baptising their children. In 1840 he had made there a mission so fruitful that the Protestant missionaries had got alarmed, and feared that all their disciples would abandon them if he continued his missions among them. Father De Smet, after visiting the Flat Heads in 1840, had come and established a mission among them in 1841; and from that time down to the arrival of the Bishop, the Indians of Walla Walla and of the Upper Columbia had never failed to be visited yearly, either by Father Demers or by some of the Jesuits, and those annual excursions had procured every year new children to the Church. Almost every Indian tribe possessed some Catholic member. Among the Cayuses the Young Chief and a portion of his camp were professing Catholicism, and for seven years previous were asking for some priests to come and settle among them. The Flat Heads, Kallispels, and Couer de' Alenes, possessed each of them a station with as many churches, built and attended by the Jesuits. The Bishop of Walla Walla then, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole part of Oregon contained between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains, was far from coming into a field totally foreign to him. When he arrived he found more flocks and pastors than the American Board had ever been able to show on their side.

As to the assertion that the Protestant missionaries had worked there peaceably for eleven years, we know what to think of it from the different statements which we have seen above.

9th. I could admit that Jo. Lewis, Joseph Stanfield, and Nicholas Finlay, who may have been seen plundering, were Catholics, without injuring in the least the cause of Catholicism; because, as in good reasoning it is never allowed to conclude from one particularity to another particularity nor to a generality; in like manner, from the guilt of three Catholics it cannot be reasonably concluded that other Catholics are guilty, nor *a fortiori* that all Catholics are guilty and Catholicism

favorable to the guilt. Mr. Spalding, when he advanced so absurd a sophism, did not bear in mind that in the present case it could be retorted against him entirely to his disadvantage. But I prefer to give to every one his own, and to keep for myself only what is mine.

I affirm, then, that Nicholas Finlay, was no Catholic, or had ever been one, and I would like Mr. Spalding to prove the contrary. Finlay was a poor half-breed, who had alwas lived with the Indians, and after their manners, habits, principles and superstitions, and who had of the white man nothing but the name. He had never been baptised, had never frequented any Catholic church, nor received Catholic instruction from any priest. On the contrary he was attached to Dr. Whitman, in the neighborhood of whom he generally lived, and he followed his instructions. I affirm, in like manner, that Jo. Lewis was not a Catholic, and according to Mr. Spalding he must have been a Protestant; because the religion of a man is not the consequence of his birth, but springs from the principles that he has imbibed from the society in which he has lived. Well, according to Mr. Spalding, Jo. Lewis must have been raised either in the State of Maine, where there were at the time no Catholic churches, no priests, nor any means whatever of receiving Catholic instruction, or in some other part of the United States, under the care of Americans, (generally protestants,) who had taken him from among the wild Indians when he was from four to five years of age.

As to Joseph Stanfield, I admit that he was born and had been educated a Catholic. But he said himself that for twenty years past he had not frequented any Catholic church, and had not availed himself of the ministry of any priest. He may, during that time, have given up the severity of Catholic principles and morality. I do not pretend to excuse him; nevertheless he has been tried by competent tribunals for the crime he is accused of; and I do not know that he has as yet been condemned by them. Why should we pretend now to be more enlightened and wiser than those tribunals have been, and judge him more severely than they have done?

10th. It is also a slander to say that the priests have neglected to have the bodies of those who were murdered buried. I refer to all the captives of Wailatpu, who saw me for over three hours actively occupied in shrouding the corpses and putting them into a common grave with my own hands, and taking care that they should be covered with earth before I left, and that two days only after the massacre.

11th. When Mr. Spalding complained that the Bishop had neglected to give him the information asked in regard to his daughter and the other captives, he had forgotten that Mr. Ogden wrote to him in lieu of the Bishop as well as for himself when he announced to him that liberty was secured for him and for the other captives, and that he had to be ready to leave the country by a certain time that he had fixed upon for him. It was the first letter that could be sent to him after the receipt of his letter by the Bishop, and it was the same Indian who had brought his letter to the Bishop that took Mr. Ogden's letter to him. As to information relative to the situation of the captives, that could be of no particular utility to any one, and as the Bishop knew nothing about it except through Indian reports, he thought that Mr. Spalding would receive more correct information from his own Indians, who had been at Wailatpu and had themselves seen the captives, than from himself. And moreover an express would have been very expensive, if one could have been obtained.

12th. When Mr. Spalding says that I arrived at Wailatpu just about the moment the young American was killed, he slanders me again; since, as he says, the young American was killed at two o'clock, P. M., and I did not arrive at the Indian camp, until between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, without having passed by the mission.

13th. Rev. Mr. Griffin, the Editor of the *Oregon American*, is not more correct when he says that I concerted a letter at Wailatpu with Mr. McBean's messengers, since it was known to all the people of the station that Mr. McBean's messengers, who had come in the morning that followed the massacre, had started off long before the evening for Walla Walla; while I did not arrive at

the Indian camp until late in the evening of the same day, and at the mission on the next morning only.

14th. It is also incorrect to say that the Catholic missionaries despised the authority of the Governor and of the Indian Agent, who had commanded them to leave the Indian country.

During the winter, without being in the least ordered to do it, the Catholic clergy of Walla Walla had thought it prudent to leave the upper country on account of the existence of the war. But, in the spring, as it was generally thought in the Willamette that the war was at an end, and as Indians were urgently asking the priests to go back, and also as it was proper for him to fix his residence within the limits of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Bishop notified Governor Abernethy, on the 29th of April, of his intention to go back to his diocese, in a letter in which were the following lines:

"Sir . . . . I feel desirous to go and continue the work which we have begun with some success; I feel anxious that circumstances should allow us to return back to those Indians who wish to know God as we do, in order to adore and love Him from their whole heart; and I intend to do it as soon as possible.

"The two letters, copies of which I have the honor to transmit with the present,—one from Tyaies, the other from Tawatowe (Young Chief), asking their missionaries to go back to them,—are a proof of their desire to get instructed. Who would not rejoice, seeing that God had inspired them with such good feelings? And, for us, who know all the good that can be done there—how could we refuse to run to their help?"

The Bishop expected to receive an answer from the Governor, as a matter of course, but after waiting more than a month for that answer, and seeing that His Excellency did not even acknowledge the receipt of that letter, he resolved to fulfil his intentions. He started back in the middle of June with his secular clergy for the Dalles, for the purpose of settling there and beginning a mission. And it was only a few days after his arrival there that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs directed to one member of the clergy a letter that was intended for him (the Bishop), prohibiting the continua-



tion of missionary labors with the Indians east of the Cascade mountains. The following is a copy of the letter, directed on the outside to Rev. Mr. Rosseau, &c., and on the inside to Messrs. Blanchet, &c.

“FORT WASCOPOM, June 15, 1848.

“Rev. Messrs.—As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, it becomes my duty to inform you, with all due respect to your sacred calling, that it is desirable no further missionary efforts should be made with any Indians east of the Cascade Mountains, until the presence of well organized and disciplined troops, under command of United States officers, shall render such efforts safe and judicious. At present the relations between the whites and the Indians are too precarious to allow missionary labors with the Indians to be either prudent or effective of good. So soon as circumstances will allow, I shall take much pleasure in throwing wide the door of missionary labors among the natives to *all Christian missionaries*; at present, prudence demands that it should be *closed against all*.

“With much respect,

“I have the honor to be, Messrs.,

“Your obedient servant,

“H. A. G. LEE, Sup't Ind. Affairs.

“To Messrs. Blanchet, &c.”

The Bishop and his clergy conformed to that order, and suspended all missionary labors among the Indians of the Dalles until more favorable circumstances. He continued, it is true, to remain upon his *claim*, and to improve it; but in that, as in the rest of his conduct, he did not violate the order nor act contrary to the intentions of the Superintendent, as is evident from the following letter written to him by Dr. Saffarans, Indian Agent for the Dalles. Upon false reports that the Doctor had received, he had thought it his duty to write to the Bishop for some explanations, and immediately after receiving the Bishop's answer he wrote in the following terms:

“FORT WASCOPOM, July 20, 1848.

“My dear Sir:—On the receipt of your letter of yesterday I became immediately satisfied that I had been misinformed in relation to the tenor of your pursuits at present with the Indians. Although my informants were impressed with a wrong conception of the labors of missionary establishments, they considered it imperatively their duty to inform me according to their understanding, in consequence of which I wrote to you; though I now sincerely hope you will have the goodness to forgive me and my informants for the pain and trouble we have given you upon this subject; for I do assure you the act was not done knowingly through the medium of indiscretion, but through wrong and ignorant conceptions of missionary matters.

“As to the matter of instructing and explaining to the Indians the common precepts of the Bible, there can be no objection; because I do sincerely consider it a most magnanimous act in any one to give the poor benighted beings all the light and instruction within their power, upon the subject of Christianity and civilization; without distinction, however, as to Church or mode of administration, during the present crisis of affairs with them.

“Now, upon the point of being compelled to write to the Superintendent in relation to missionary establishments: this part, Sir, you do most assuredly misunderstand, because in speaking of missionary establishments, it is not to be understood that a house or simply an improvement is means a missionary establishment, nor in simply fulfilling religious duties or exercises therein; because houses are dedicated to many uses, and that use designates the character of the establishment. Consequently, you must not understand that I, in my previous letter, inferred that you should desist from improving your claim; far from it; because it is most assuredly your undoubted right as a man and free citizen of Oregon to make any and all such improvements as your fancy and desires may plan and construct; and by thus doing, I consider that you are acting perfectly in accordance with the letter and spirit of our free and republican constitution.

“I beg, sir, that you may forgive me for the trouble I

have caused you upon this occasion, and you will ever oblige your most obedient friend,

“HENRY SAFFARANS,

“Indian Agent for Wascopom.

“To A. A. M. Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla.”

No change has taken place in the state of things since. 15th. When Mr. Spalding said that he had met a priest in company with an Indian who had the avowed intention to kill him, I am inclined to say that he could have done something better and more worthy a noble and grateful heart than to advance so heinous a slander against the best friend he ever had. I am the priest whom Mr. Spalding met in company with one of the murderers. When he met me, I had just started from the Doctor's establishment where I had buried with my own hands the dead bodies of the unfortunate victims of the disaster, as before stated; where I had consoled in the best manner I could the widows and orphans, and obtained from that same Indian the promise that they would do them no harm and would treat them well; and expressed repeatedly my anxiety for Mr. Spalding, my fear that he should come too soon, and would fall, perhaps, into the hands of the Indians; and my ardent desire of meeting him in time to give him a chance to escape. For a proof of that I refer to the captives who were then at the Doctor's establishment. At the moment of my departure that Indian had joined my interpreter and was coming in company with me against my will and without my knowing of his intention. His presence caused me great uneasiness on Mr. Spalding's account. I had wished to find an opportunity to send him back and to escape from him, but in vain, when Mr. Spalding suddenly met me and placed me in the most critical situation in which I ever found myself, and where I had the good fortune to save his life at the evident peril of my own.

Now is it not ungenerous and inconsistent on the part of Mr. Spalding to throw a doubt upon my intentions in that circumstance? If I had entertained bad intentions against him; if I had wished to have him killed, as he insinuated, would I have warned him of the danger that threatened him? Would I have given him my pro-

visions and advised him to fly without delay, as he says himself I did? Strange reasoning this! "The priest told me that the Indians intended to kill me;" that in order to escape from their hands, "I had better to run off instantly;" and so as to furnish me with the means of doing so, "he gave me his meat and bread, and God delivered me from the murderers;" then it is evident that the priest intended to cause me to be killed! And this is nevertheless Mr. Spalding's reasoning, word for word.

It is not correct to say that the Indian was in my company "with the avowed intention of killing" Mr. Spalding. He had, as well as the other Indians, the general intention of killing him at the first opportunity, it is true; but such was not the reason that had caused him to come with me; because he did not know nor think that Mr. Spalding would come on that day. His intention, as I knew afterwards, was to inform his uncle, Camaspelo, the military chief, of the massacre, and receive his orders. Besides, he was accompanying me at that moment, as other Indians had done during the day, without my knowledge of their immediate intentions, and in such a way as to keep me in continual apprehension and fear.

It is also untrue to say that that Indian retired to an *unobserved place to reload his pistol*. Mr. Spalding knew better than that, since I had told him that the Indian had gone back to camp to consult about his fate. If his intentions had been to reload his pistol, he would not have wanted more than a few minutes to have loaded it and shot Mr. Spalding, as neither my interpreter nor myself could have prevented him for want of arms and good horses. But he did not return until two or three hours after when I was on Marron's Fork. Moreover, nobody but Mr. Spalding and myself can give a correct account of what passed between us at the time. We were alone, my interpreter being at some distance from us and not hearing our conversation; and I can bear testimony that then Mr. Spalding was not in a state fit to form a judicious opinion of things or words; the fright and trouble of mind which the knowledge of his danger had produced on him, had set him completely beside himself.

16th. I come now to the last accusation, and one of the most malicious that has been made against us: "That the priests had told the Indians everywhere, and the Walla Walla chief in particular, that the Protestant missionaries were causing them to die; that they were poisoning them; that it was the Americans who had brought the measles among them; and that God had sent that sickness to them to show his hatred against the heretics."

I solemnly affirm that such a thing, nor anything of the like, has never been said by any priest to the Indians. I defy any one to prove the contrary; and a few remarks will show what confidence can be prudently put by unprejudiced people in the present accusations brought by Mr. Spalding against us.

First, it is a mere vague and malicious assertion, and to support it he has not brought forward the least testimony, but the supposed reports made to them by two Indians, Tintinmitsi and Yellow Serpent. But as to those reports I have reason to doubt that they had ever been made to him by those Indians;—many an instance has proved to us that more than once Mr. Spalding's memory has given way to his imagination. If they have been made to him, I dare say that it has been with a view to sound him, as it is a common practice with Indians, and to find out from his answers whether it was true or not that the American missionaries were poisoning them, as it has been for years the general impression among them. And finally, those reports can be of no credit, and prove nothing in the case. If in most part of the States of the Union the testimony of Indians is never admitted as proof against the whites in any court of justice, it would be here inconsistent to make it the basis of public opinion, and especially when it is expressed in such vague and general terms.

It is evident, besides, that the Doctor and Mr. Spalding never believed anything as to the truth of such Indian reports, if they ever heard of them. "If Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding," says the Hon. P. H. Burnett, "believed the tales that the Indians were telling them, that the priests were persuading them the Doctor was poisoning them, why did they not take some steps to investigate



the matter, to inquire into the truth of these reports? It required no more than a little honesty, and common sense, to have enabled them to set the matter beyond doubt. When I hear that a neighbor has charged me with a crime, it is my duty to go to him and ask him if he has said so. This course is a plain one, and very common among honorable men that are not willing to believe every slander they hear in the community. When the Indian came to the Doctor, and told him that the priests were telling them that he was poisoning them, had he believed there was even a probability that such was the fact, he would have inquired of the Indians: 'What priest told you so? To what Indians did they say so? If they told you so, they told you a falsehood. Now let us go and see the priests, and take with us those Indians they told these things to, and I will face them down and show you that it is false.' This course would have been fair and just to the priests, to the Doctor, and to the Indians. Suppose this course had been taken. The Doctor should have taken with him the Indians that these things had been told to, as well as some of the honorable emigrants at his station, and having brought the Indians and the priests face to face, he could then have inquired of the priests: 'Are these things so?' If the priests had in fact told the Indians so, and had then denied the fact to the Doctor in the presence of the Indians, it would at once have prostrated the influence of the priests with the Indians. Dr. Whitman could have said to the Indians: 'You see these men are liars; they told you I was poisoning you, and now they deny it. You cannot believe anything they tell you.' But suppose the priests had admitted they had told these things to the Indians, then the Doctor could have been prepared for the worst, and he would have been able to have exposed these conspirators to the world, not by mere Indian hearsay, but by tangible evidences.' On the other hand, suppose the priests had never told these things to the Indians, and that the Indians had been telling lies to sound the Doctor and try to find out whether he was in fact poisoning them, the Indians would have been detected and exposed. In every view of the case good would have resulted from an investigation. Now Dr. Whitman was a man of good

sense and great firmness, and had he believed that these reports had any foundation, he certainly would not have been afraid or ashamed to have brought this matter to a test that would have settled it."

The following statement is also somewhat in our behalf in this case. I refer to Mr. Thos. McKay's statement, to whose testimony Mr. Spalding has referred. He was present at the council held at Walla Walla by the Cayuse chiefs, when called by the Bishop for the purpose of asking them for a piece of land for a mission. He heard what accusations the Indians made against Dr. Whitman on that occasion, and what the answers made to them by the Bishop were:

"During the meeting," says he, "'Tumsaky said that Dr. Whitman was a bad man; that he robbed and poisoned them." The Bishop replied to him "that his thoughts were bad; the Doctor did not poison them nor rob them; he had better banish those thoughts from his mind. You do not know the Doctor, he is not a bad man."

"One of the chiefs told the Bishop they would send the Doctor away very soon, and they would give him his house if he wished. The Bishop answered that he would not take the Doctor's house; that he did not wish them to send the Doctor away, and that there was room enough for two missions."

Now, if the Bishop had formally contradicted the Indians in that circumstance, how could it be supposed that he should have spoken differently on other occasions? He knew how important it was to weigh well his answers and words with the Indians, and carefully to avoid anything that would appear like hesitation or contradiction. Besides, he never spoke to the Indians but through an interpreter, and generally the interpreter of the Fort, and always in the public room, and in presence of all the people that wished to hear him.

The importance of keeping his influence even with the whites would have then prevented him from saying anything against Dr. Whitman and others in contradiction to what he had said on that occasion. And I affirm that he never did; for a proof of which I refer to the people who lived or were at Walla Walla during our stay there.

But there is another circumstance that, in my opinion, can throw greater light on the matter than anything else. It is a conversation that took place between Mr. Spalding and Dr. Poujade, in the Cayuse country, about five or six miles at farthest from the place where the Catholic mission was afterwards established. It was three months before the establishment of that mission, and five days before the Bishop (who was far ahead of his priests) passed for the first time on the Cayuse lands, on his way to Fort Walla Walla. The reader will judge from that conversation what reliance can be placed on Mr. Spalding's assertions in general, but especially on those that engage our attention at present. Let it be remembered in perusing the conversation, that there were no clergymen yet arrived among the Cayuses, the nearest were at least one hundred miles, and the others about three hundred miles distant. The conversation took place on the 31st of August, and the mission of the Cayuses did not begin until the latter part of November. Here follows the conversation as related by Dr. Poujade:

This is to certify that on the 31st day of August, 1847, while on the road to Oregon, I met Rev. H. H. Spalding at the Willow Spring, at the foot of the Blue Mountains, and that the following conversation took place between him and me at that place:

He asked me how many wagons were in our company. I answered him, seven.

H. H. Spalding—Well, you had better wait for a larger company.

J. P. Poujade—Why so?

H. H. Spalding—Because the Indians are getting very bad.

J. P. Poujade—Have they done anybody any harm?

H. H. Spalding—Yes, they have killed two white men at the Dalles.

J. P. Poujade—The Americans may be in fault.

H. H. Spalding—No, it is the Catholic priests, *who have established a mission among the Cayuses*; and they have put the Indians up to kill all the American Protestants on the road to Oregon.

J. P. Poujade—Impossible; that is not Christianity, it

must be a mistake, because we must love our neighbors as ourselves. I have lived thirty years among the Catholics in the United States, and I always understood the Catholic Church to teach her children to do good for evil, and to be charitable by giving good moral example, and I think well of the Catholic clergy. And to tell you the truth, I am a Catholic; but here is a Protestant gentleman, Mr. Larkins, who has lived neighbor to me twenty years, ask him if ever he knew Catholics to kill Protestants. Mr. Larkins answered, No.

H. H. Spalding—It is true, I have received fresh news, and I understand the Indians had stolen from the whites. One Indian was killed by the whites, and the Indians killed one white man. Do you know if the dragoons are coming or not?

J. P. Poujade—The bill did not pass.

H. H. Spalding—I am sorry; the Indians are getting worse every day for two or three years back. They are threatening to turn us out of the mission. A few days ago they tore down my fences. And I do not know what the Missionary Board of New York means to do. It is a fact, we are doing no good. When the emigration passes, the Indians all run off to trade, and return worse than when we came amongst them.

And so I left him with his blanket spread, full of one thing and another, and he had also many head of horses, for the purpose of trading with the emigrants. Around us were scattered in the prairies several bands of horses, that the Indians pointed out to us as belonging to Dr. Whitman.

(Signed,)

JOHN P. POUJADE.

I certify to the above conversation, being present at the time.

(Signed,)

ANNE POUJADE.

Saint Louis Willamet, Sept. 12, 1848.

I leave all comments on that conversation to the public.

Now, I have exposed frankly and candidly what I consider to have been the true causes of the massacre of Wailatpu, with the grounds and proofs that support my opinion, together with the conduct of the Catholic clergy in regard to that whole affair, on one part, and the malicious and grievous accusations made by Mr. Spalding and others against that same Catholic clergy with regard to that same affair, together with what I consider as a plain and full refutation of them, on the other part. I leave now the matter before the public, to which it belongs attentively to examine and weigh the testimony on both sides, and then impartially to decide and pronounce whether the Catholic clergy are guilty of the atrocious charges brought against them, or whether Mr. Spalding and others could have spoken so against the Catholic clergy "without being crazy," as Col. Gilliam and many others have already pronounced. They could not, without being moved by blind, unjust, and too violent religious prejudices.





# APPENDIX.

ALPHABET

## Extracts from Hines' History of Oregon.

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The following extracts from Rev. Gustavus Hines' *History of Oregon*, will no doubt prove interesting to every reader who desires to learn the truth of history, forming as they do, a chain of evidence which shows conclusively the remote causes which led to the massacre at Wailatpu. It will be borne in mind that the events detailed in the following extracts, occurred from 1842 to 1846-7, and among Indians with whom Catholic missionaries had never resided. The Catholic missions among the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, were first established in 1840, by Father Peter de Smet, S. J., among the Flathead and Pen de Orielles tribes, who had sent deputations to the missionary establishment, at St. Louis, Missouri, years before, soliciting the presence of the "black gowns" amongst them. The camps of these Indians were located many hundred miles from the Cayuse and other tribes of malcontents mentioned hereafter, and with whom the Pen de Orielles and Flatheads had no communication whatever.

It has been generally remarked by Indian agents and other Federal officials, that the Indians among whom the Catholic missionaries were located, have invariably proved more moral, more susceptible of civilization, and more friendly towards the whites than those Indians whose spiritual welfare was under the control of non-

Catholic teachers. This is an established fact, verified by the national records, and is easily explained, inasmuch as the missionaries of the Catholic Church devote themselves solely to the great work of their spiritual calling, whilst it not unfrequently happens that the missionaries of many other denominations make their religious profession secondary to their own affluence and aggrandizement.

With these remarks we append the extracts above alluded to, asking for them a careful perusal and candid consideration :

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## EXTRACTS.

APRIL 14. This settlement has been thrown into a panic by intelligence which has just been received from the upper country, concerning the hostile intentions of the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Walla Walla Indians. It appears that they have again threatened the destruction of the whites. Some time in October last,\* Indian report said that these tribes were coming down to kill off the Boston people, meaning those from the United States. This intelligence produced considerable excitement at the time, and induced the sub-agent of Indian Affairs to go directly to the upper country and ascertain the truth of the report, and if possible settle all matters of difficulty. On arriving among the Indians, he ascertained that the report was not without foundation; but entered into such arrangements with them as appeared to give satisfaction. Thomas McKay contributed much to allay the excitement among them, and in connexion with the sub-agent, induced the Nez Percés to adopt a code of laws, and appoint a head chief and inferior chiefs, sufficient to carry the laws into execution. It had been the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to destroy the chieftainship, cut the different tribes into smaller clans,

\*1842—Five years before the massacre at Wailatpu.



and divide their interests as far as possible so as to weaken them, and render them incapable of injuring the whites, by preventing them from acting in concert. But the sub-agent adopted a different policy. The individual appointed to a high chieftainship over the Nez Perces, was one Ellis, as he was called by the English, who, having spent several years in the settlement on the Red river, east of the mountains, had, with a smattering of the English language, acquired a high sense of his own importance; and consequently, after he was appointed chief, pursued a very haughty and overbearing course. The fulfillment of the laws which the agent recommended for their adoption, was required by Ellis with the utmost rigor. Individuals were severely punished for crimes, which, from time immemorial, had been committed by the people with impunity. This occasioned suspicions in the minds of the Indians generally, that the whites designed the ultimate subjugation of their tribes. They saw in the laws they had adopted, a deep-laid scheme of the whites to destroy them, and take possession of their country. The arrival of a large party of emigrants about this time, and the sudden departure of Dr. Whitman to the United States, with the avowed intention of bringing back with him as many as he could enlist for Oregon, served to hasten them to the above conclusion. That a great excitement existed among the Indians in the interior, and that they designed to make war upon the settlement, was only known to the whites through the medium of vague report, until a letter was received from H. K. W. Perkins, at the Dalles, in which he informed us that the Wascopam and Walla Walla Indians, had communicated to him in substance the following information: that the Indians are very much exasperated against the whites in consequence of so many of the latter coming into the country, to destroy their game, and take away their lands; that the Nez Perces dispatched one of their chiefs last winter on snow shoes, to visit the Indians in the buffalo country east of Fort Hall, for the purpose of exciting them to cut off the party that it is expected Dr. Whitman will bring back with him to settle the Nez Perce country; that the Indians are endeavoring to form a general coal-

tion for the purpose of destroying all the Boston people : that it is not good to kill a part of them and leave the rest, but that *every one* of them must be destroyed. This information produced a great excitement throughout the community, and almost every man had a plan of his own by which to avert the impending storm. In the estimation of some the Indians were to be upon us immediately, and it was unsafe to retire at night for fear the settlement would be attacked before morning. The plan of the agent was to induce men to pledge themselves, under the forfeiture of one hundred dollars in case of delinquency, to keep constantly on hand, and ready for use, either a good musket or a rifle, and one hundred charges of ammunition, and to hold themselves in readiness to go at the call of the agent to any part of the country, not to exceed two days travel, for the purpose of defending the settlement, and repelling any savage invaders. This plan pleased some of the people, and they put down their names ; but many were much dissatisfied with it, and as we had no authority, no law, no order, for the time being, in the country, it was impossible, to tell what would be the result, if the Indians should attempt to carry their threats into execution. \* \* \* \*

Report says, furthermore, that the Klikitat Indians are collecting together back of the Tuality plains, but for what purpose is not known. The people on the plains, consisting of about thirty families, are quite alarmed. There is also a move among the Calapooahs, Shoefon, one of the principal men of the tribe, left this place a few days ago, and crossed the Willamette river declaring that he would never return until he came with a band of men to drive off the Boston people. He was very much offended because some of his people were seized and flogged, through the influence of Dr. White, for having stolen horses from some of the missionaries, and flour from the mission mill. His influence is not very extensive among the Indians, or we might have much to fear. The colony is indeed in a most defenceless condition ; two hundred Indians, divided into four bands, might destroy the settlement in one night. \* \* \*

On the 20th of April, 1843, a letter was received in the settlement, written by H. B. Brewer, at the Dalles, which

brings the latest intelligence from the infected region. This letter states that the Indians in the interior talk much of war, and Mr. Brewer urges Dr. White to come up without delay, and endeavor to allay the excitement. He does not inform us that the Indians design any evil toward the whites, but says that the war is to be between themselves, but that the Boston people have much to fear. As the Doctor, in his visit to the interior last October, left an appointment to meet the Walla Walla Indians and the Cayuses, in their own country, on the 10th of May, and believing that a great share of the excitement originated in a misunderstanding of the Indians, he came to the conclusion at all hazards to go among them. At the solicitation of the agent, I determined to accompany him on the expedition.

The great complaint of the Indians was that the Boston people designed to take away their lands, and reduce them to slavery. This they had inferred from what Dr. White had told them in his previous visit; and this misunderstanding of the Indians had not only produced a great excitement among them, but had occasioned considerable trouble betwixt them and the missionaries and other whites in the upper country, as well as influencing them to threaten the destruction of all the American people. Individuals had come down from Fort Walla Walla to Vancouver, bringing information of the excited state of things among the Indians, and giving out that it would be extremely dangerous for Dr. White to go up to meet his engagements. \* \* \* \*

Next morning, at the rising of the sun, we left our attendants with the pack animals, and proceeded on ahead, determined, if possible, to reach the mission station at Waialatpu, on the Walla Walla river, the same day. Passed Fort Walla Walla at twelve, and arrived at Dr. Whitman's at five, having traveled fifty miles since we mounted in the morning. We were received with great cordiality by Mrs. Whitman and Mr. Giger, Dr. Whitman being absent on a tour to the United States. They had heard we were coming, and were looking for us with great anxiety. We soon learned that the reports in the lower country about war, that had produced such an excitement, were not without

foundation: the Cayuse Indians, among whom this mission is established, had freely communicated to Mr. Giger, whom they esteemed as their friend, all they knew concerning it.

When the Indians were first told that the Americans were designing to subjugate them, and take away their lands, the young chiefs of the Cayuse tribe were in favor of proceeding immediately to hostilities. They were for raising a large war party, and, rushing directly down to the Willamette settlement, cut off the inhabitants at a blow. The old chiefs were of a different opinion; they suggested more cautious measures. Taking into consideration the difficulty, at that season of the year, of marching a large party the distance of three or four hundred miles through a wide range of mountains, covered with snow, they advised all the Indians to wait until they should obtain more information concerning the designs of the Americans. They also thought that it would not be wisdom in them, in any case, to commence an offensive war, but to prepare themselves for a vigorous defence against any attack. They frequently remarked to Mr. Giger, that they did not wish to go to war, but if the Americans came to take away their lands, and bring them into a state of vassalage, they would fight so long as they had a drop of blood to shed. They said they had received their information concerning the designs of the Americans from Baptiste Dorio. This individual, who is a half-breed, son of Madame Dorio, the heroine of Washington Irving's Astoria, understands the Nez Perce language well, and had given the Cayuses the information that had alarmed them. Mr. Giger endeavored to induce them to prepare, early in the spring, to cultivate the ground as they did the year before, but they refused to do anything, saying that Baptiste Dorio had told them that it would be of no consequence; that the whites would come in the summer, and kill them all off, and destroy their plantations.

After Dorio had told them this story, they sent a Walla Walla chief, called Yellow Serpent, to Vancouver, to learn from Doctor McLaughlin the facts in the case. Yellow Serpent returned and told the Cayuses that Dr.

McLaughlin said he had nothing to do in a war with the Indians; that he did not believe the Americans designed to attack them, and that, if the Americans did go to war with the Indians, the Hudson's Bay Company would not assist them. After they got this information from the *hias* ( great) Doctor, the Indians became more calm; many of them went to cultivating the ground as formerly, and a large number of little patches had been planted and sown, before we arrived at the station.

The Cayuses were principally encamped along the base of the Blue Mountains, a few miles east of Dr. Whitman's house; and after we had obtained all the information we could from Mrs. Whitman and Mr. Giger, concerning the state of things among them, we sent them word that we had come, and desired to see them. We also sent the chiefs word that we desired them to make arrangements to have all their people meet us at the mission on the following Friday, to have a talk.

The chiefs came to see us at Dr. Whitman's, and told the story of their grievances, and said that they desired to have the difficulty settled. They said it would not be convenient for the people to come together so soon as we desired, as many of them were off among the mountains, hunting elk. As they must be informed of the meeting, it would be several days before the people could get together. \* \* \* \*

Tuesday, 23d. The chiefs and principal men of both tribes came together at Dr. Whitman's to hear what we had to say. They were called to order by Tanitau, who by this time had got over his excitement, and then was placed before them the object of our visit. Among other things they were told that much had been said about war, and we had come to assure them that they had nothing to fear from that quarter; that the President of the United States had not sent the Doctor to their country, to make war upon them, but to enter into arrangements with them to regulate their intercourse with the white people. We were not there to catch them in a trap as a man would catch a beaver, but to do them good; and if they would lay aside their former practices and prejudices, stop their quarrels, cultivate their lands, and receive good laws, they might become a



great and a happy people; that in order to do this, they must be united, for they were but few in comparison to the whites; and if they were not all of one heart, they would be able to accomplish nothing; that the chiefs should set the example and love each other, and not get proud and haughty, but consider the people as their brothers and their children, and labor to do them good; that the people should be obedient, and in their morning and evening prayers they should remember their chiefs.

Liberty was then given for the chiefs to speak, and Ellis remarked that it would not be proper for the Nez Perce chiefs to speak until the Cayuse people should receive the laws. The Cayuse chiefs replied, "If you want us to receive the laws, bring them forward and let us see them, as we cannot take them unless we know what they are."

A speech was then delivered to the young men to impress them favorably with regard to the laws. They were told that they would soon take the places of the old men, and they should be willing to act for the good of the people; that they should not go here and there and spread false reports about war; and that this had been the cause of all the difficulty and excitement which had prevailed among them during the past winter.

The laws were then read, first in English, and then in the Nez Perce.

Yellow Serpent then rose and said: "I have a message to you. Where are these laws from? Are they from God or from the earth? I would that you might say, they were from God. But I think they are from the earth, because, from what I know of white men, they do not honor these laws.

In answer to this, the people were informed that the laws were recognized by God, and imposed on men in all civilized countries. Yellow Serpent was pleased with the explanation, and said that it was according to the instructions he had received from others, and he was very glad to learn that it was so, because many of his people had been angry with him when he had whipped them for crime, and had told him that God would send him to hell for it, and he was glad to know that it was pleasing to God."

Selaunkaikt, a Cayuse chief, rose and said : " What do you read the laws for before we take them? We do not take the laws because Tautau says so. He is a Catholic, and as a people we do not follow his worship." Dr. White replied that this did not make any difference about law ; that the people in the States had different modes of worship, yet all had one law.

Then a chief, called the Prince, arose and said : " I understand you gave us liberty to examine every law—all the words and lines—and as questions are asked about it, we should get a better understanding of it. The people of this country have but one mind about it. I have something to say, but perhaps the people will dispute me. As a body, we have not had an opportunity to consult, therefore you come to us as in a wind, and speak to us as to the air, as we have no point, and we cannot speak because we have no point before us. The business before us is whole, like a body we have not dissected it. And perhaps you will say that it is out of place for me to speak, because I am not a great chief. Once I had influence, but now I have but little."

He was about to sit down, but was told to go on. He then said—" When the whites first came among us, we had no cattle, they have given us none; what we have now got we have obtained by an exchange of property. A long time ago Lewis and Clark came to this country, and I want to know what they said about us. Did they say that they found friends or enemies here?" Being told that they spoke well of the Indians, the Prince said, " that is a reason why the whites should unite with us, and all become one people. Those who have been here before you, have left us no memorial of their kindness, by giving us presents. We speak by way of favor. If you have any benefit to bestow, we will then speak more freely. One thing that we can speak about is cattle, and the reason why we cannot speak out now is because we have not the thing before us. My people are poor and blind, and we must have something tangible. Other chiefs have bewildered me since they came; yet I am from an honorable stock. Promises which have been made to me and my fathers, have not been fulfilled, and I am made miserable; but it

will not answer for me to speak out, for my people do not consider me as their chief. One thing more; you have reminded me of what was promised me sometime ago, and I am inclined to follow on and see; though I have been giving my beaver to the whites, and have received many promises, and have always been disappointed. I want to know what you are going to do."

Illutin, or Big Belly, then arose and said, that the old men were wearied with the wickedness of the young men. That if he was alone, he could say yes at once to the laws, and that the reason why the young men did not feel as he felt was because they had stolen property in their hands, and the laws condemned stealing. But he assured them that the laws were calculated to do them good, and not evil.

But this did not satisfy the Prince. He desired that the good which it was proposed to do them by adopting the laws, might be put in a tangible form before them. He said that it had been a long time since the country had been discovered by whites, and that ever since that time, people had been coming along, and promising to do them good; but they had all passed by and left no blessing behind them. That the Hudson's Bay Company had persuaded them to continue with them, and not go after the Americans; that if the Americans designed to do them good why did they not bring goods with them to leave with the Indians? that they were fools to listen to what the Yankees had to say; that they would only talk, but the company would both talk and give them presents. \* \* \* \*

About this time (1843) the Indians became quite troublesome, in various parts of the country. At Wailatpu, on the Walla Walla river, where a mission station had been established by Dr. Marcus Whitman, they took advantage of the Doctor's absence and broke into the house, in the dead of the night, and even in the bed-chamber of Mrs. Whitman, who, with much difficulty, escaped out of their hands. At Lapwai, on Clear Water river, where the Rev. Mr. Spalding was conducting a mission station, they committed some outrages; also, at the Falls of the Willamette river. A number of individuals of Dr. White's party, who had separated themselves

from the main company, were robbed of their effects while passing down the Columbia river.

The Nez Perces and Cayuses, two of the most powerful tribes in the country, had talked much of making war upon the American settlement on the Willamette river. These things, with many others of more or less importance, produced a high degree of excitement, and served to arouse the people again to the subject of entering into some measures by which their mutual protection might be secured. \* \* \* \*

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### Letter of Sir James Douglas.

The following letter from Sir James Douglas, chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to S. N. Castle, Esq., was first published in the *Friend*, at Honolulu, S. I., where the gentleman resided to whom it was addressed. It relates the massacre of Dr. Whitman and other missionaries in a truthful manner, and gives, as one of the causes for their murder, the fact already patent to the reader who has perused the foregoing pages, viz: The prejudices existing in the minds of the Cayuse Indians against Doctor Whitman, "for not exerting his supposed supernatural powers in saving their lives." No man then residing on this coast had better opportunities for judging the character of the Cayuse Indians, than Mr. Douglas, and no man possessed greater facilities for procuring correct information relative to the causes—both remote and immediate—which led to the massacre at Wailatpu. Hence the letter of Mr. Douglas is entitled to more than ordinary consideration, and his conclusions will be found to coincide exactly with those of other disinterested witnesses, clearly exonerating the Catholic missionaries from any shadow of culpability and placing the responsibility of the calamity where it properly belongs:

FORT VANCOUVER, 9th Dec., 1847.

S. W. CASTLE, ESQ.—*Sir*: It is with feelings indescribably painful, that I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of the Board of Missions, intelligence of a disastrous event which lately occurred at the missionary stations of Wailatpu. Our estimable friend, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, and nine other men and youths in the mission employ, were murdered on the 29th ult., by the Cayuse Indians, with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. The lives of the women and children with the exception of the lamented lady already named, were spared. The mission being situated in the Cayuse country, they had a peculiar interest in protecting it from harm, in gratitude for past favors and for the blessings of religious instructions so assiduously dispensed to them and to their families, yet those very people the objects of so much solicitude, were alone concerned in effecting the destruction of an establishment founded solely for their benefit. The Cayuse are the most treacherous and untractable of all the Indian tribes in this country, and had on many former occasions alarmed the inmates of the mission by their tumultuous proceedings and ferocious threats; but unfortunately these evidences of a brutal disposition were disregarded by their admirable pastor, and served only to arm him with a firmer resolution to do them good. He hoped that time and instruction would produce a change of mind—a better state of feeling towards the mission; and he might have lived to see his hopes realized had not the measles and dysentery, following in the train of immigrants from the United States, made frightful ravages this year in the upper country, many Indians have been carried off through the violence of the disease and others through their own imprudence. The Cayuse Indians of Wailatpu being sufferers in this general calamity, were incensed against Dr. Whitman for not exerting his supposed supernatural powers in saving their lives. They carried this absurdity beyond that point of folly. Their superstitious minds became possessed with the horrible suspicion that he was giving poison to the sick instead of wholesome medicines with the view of working the destruction of the tribe, their



former cruelty probably adding strength to this suspicion. Still some of the more reflecting had confidence in Dr. Whitman's integrity, and it was agreed to test the effects of the medicine he had furnished on three of their people, one of whom was said to be in perfect health.

They unfortunately died, and from that moment it was resolved to destroy the Mission. It was immediately after burying the remains of these three persons that they repaired to the mission and murdered every man found there.

This happened about 2 o'clock in the afternoon; the Indians arrived at the mission one after another with their arms hid under their blankets. The doctor was at school with the children, the others were cutting up an ox they had just killed.

When the Indians saw they were numerous enough to effect their object, they fell upon the poor victims, some with guns and others with hatchets, and their blood was soon streaming on all sides. Some of the Indians turned their attention towards the doctor; he received a pistol shot in the breast from one, and a blow on the head with a hatchet from another. He had still strength enough remaining to reach a sofa, where he threw himself down and expired. Mrs. Whitman was dragged from the garret, and mercilessly butchered at the door. Mr. Rogers was shot after his life had been granted to him; the women and children were also going to be murdered, when a voice was raised to ask for mercy in favor of those whom they thought innocent, and their lives were spared. It is reported that a kind of deposition made by a Mr. Rogers increased the fury of this savage mob. Mr. Rogers was seized, was made to sit down, and then told that his life would be spared if he made a full discovery of Dr. Whitman's supposed treachery. That person then told the Indians that the Doctor intended to poison them, that one night, when Mr. Spalding was at Wailatpu, he heard them say that the Indians ought to be poisoned, in order that the Americans might take possession of their lands—that the Doctor wished to poison them all at once, but that Mr. Spalding advised him to do it gradually. Mr. Rogers, after this deposition, was spared, but an Indian, who was not present, having seen

him, fired at and killed him. An American made a similar deposition, adding that Mrs. W. was an accomplice, and she deserved death as well as her husband. It appears that he concluded by saying that he would take the side of the Indians, and that he detested the Americans. An Indian then put a pistol into his hand, and said to him, if you tell the truth, you must prove it by shooting that young American; and this wretched apostate from his country fired upon the young man shown to him, and laid him dead at his feet. It was upon the evidence of that American that Mrs. Whitman was murdered, or she might have shared in the mercy extended to the other females and children.

Such are the details as far as known of that disastrous event and the causes which led to it. Mr. Roger's reported deposition, if correct is unworthy of belief, having been drawn from him by the fear of instant death. The other American who shed the blood of his friend, must be a villain of the darkest dye, and ought to suffer for his aggravated crime.

On the 7th inst., Mr. Ogden proceeded towards Walla Walla with a strong party of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants to endeavor to prevent further evil.

Accompanying you will receive a copy of a letter which I addressed to Governor Abernethy immediately after the arrival of the melancholy intelligence at this place. All that can be collected will be considered important by the friends of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman in the United States, who will be anxious to learn every particular concerning their tragic fate.

It will be a satisfaction for them to know that these eminent servants of God were faithful in their lives, though we have to deplore the melancholy circumstances which accompanied their departure from this world of trial.

I remain, sir,

Your very ob't. servant,

JAMES DOUGLAS.



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